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he took from the left forefoot two of the claws, got them set in gold by a goldsmith in Lucknow, and gave them to the minister of the King of Oude for a charm for his sick child.

The Nawab of Rampore being applied to, states that he received the skin from C, at the time and place mentioned, and that he still smokes his hookah upon it ; and that it had lost the two claws upon the left forefoot. The minister of the King of Oude states that he received the two claws nicely set in gold ; that they had cured his boy, who still wore them round his neck to guard him from the evil eye. The goldsmith states that he set the two claws in gold for C, who paid him handsomely for his work. The peasantry, whose cattle graze on the island, declare that certain gentlemen did kill a tiger there about the time mentioned and that they saw the body after the skin had been taken off, and the vultures had begun to descend upon it.

To prove that what A and B had stated could not possibly be true, the other party appeal to some of their townsmen, who are said to be well acquainted with their characters. They state that they really know nothing about the matter in dispute ; that their friends, who are opposed to A and B, are much liked by their townspeople and neighbours, as they have plenty of money, which they spend freely ; but that they are certainly very much addicted to field sports, and generally absent in pursuit of wild-beasts for three or four months every year ; but whether they were or were not present at the killing of the great Gurmuktesur tiger they could not say.

Most persons would, after examining this evidence, be tolerably well satisfied that the said tiger had really been killed at the time and place, and by the persons mentioned by A and B ; but to establish the fact judicially, it would be necessary to bring A, B, C, D, E, and F, the Nawab of Rampore, the minister of the King of Oude, and the goldsmith, to the criminal court at Meeruth, to be confronted with the persons whose interest it was that A

constantly accustomed to the same vicious association of ideas in his native land—if he has been brought up in a family of Tories, he has constantly heard those he most revered exclaim, when they have found, or fancied they found, a Whig in the wrong, “It is so like the Whigs—they are all alike; there is no trusting any of them.” If a Protestant, “It is so like the Catholics; there is no trusting them in any relation of life.” The members of Whig and Catholic families may say the same perhaps of Tories and Protestants. An untravelled Englishman will sometimes say the same of a Frenchman; and the idea of everything that is bad in man will be associated in his mind with the image of a Frenchman. If he hears of an act of dishonour by a person of that nation, “It is so like a Frenchman—they are all alike; there is no honour in them.” A Tory goes to America, predisposed to find in all who live under republican governments, every species of vice and crime; and no sooner sees a man or woman misbehave, than he exclaims, “It is so like the Americans—they are all alike; but what could you expect from republicans!” At home, when he considers himself in relation to the members of the parties opposed to him in religion or politics, they are associated in his mind with everything that is vicious; abroad, when he considers the people of other countries in relation to his own, if they happen to be Christians, he will find them associated in his mind with everything that is good, or everything that is bad, in proportion as their institutions happen to conform to those which his party advocates. A Tory will abuse America and Americans, and praise the Austrians. A Whig will, *perhaps*, abuse the Austrians and others who live under paternal or despotic governments; and praise the Americans, who live under institutions still more free than his own.

This has properly been considered by Locke as a species of madness to which all mankind are more or less subject, and from which hardly any individual can entirely free himself. “There

other treated in the same manner as Delhi had been. The Tartar soldiers had no time to settle down and employ them as they intended for their convenience ; they were marched off to ravage western Asia, in October, 1399, about three months after their return from India. Tymour reached Samarkand in the middle of May ; but he had gone on in advance of his army, which did not arrive for some time after. Being cast off, the slaves from India spread over those countries which were most likely to afford them the means of subsistence, as beggars ; for they knew nothing of the manners, the arts, or the language of those among whom they were thrown ; and as Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Anatolia, Georgia, Circassia, and Russia, had been, or were being, desolated by the army of this Tartar chief, they passed into Egypt and Bulgaria, whence they spread over all other countries. Scattered over the face of these countries, they found small parties of vagrants who were from the same region as themselves, who spoke the same language, and who had in all probability been drawn away by the same means, of armies returning from the invasion of India. Ghengis Khan, invaded India two centuries before ; his descendant, Turmachurn, invaded India in 1303, and must have taken back with him multitudes of captives. The unhappy prisoners of Tymour the lame, gathered round these nuclei as the only people who could understand or sympathise with them. From his sixth expedition into India, Mahmood is said to have carried back with him to Ghiznee, two hundred thousand Hindoo captives, in a state of slavery, A.D. 1011. From his seventh expedition in 1017, his army of one hundred and forty thousand fighting men returned "laden with Hindoo captives, who became so cheap, that a Hindoo slave was valued at less than two rupees !" Mahmood made several expeditions to the west immediately after his return from India, in the same manner as Tymour did after him ; and he may in the same manner have scattered his Indian captives. They adopted the habits of their new friends, which are

RAMBLES
AND
RECOLLECTIONS

OF

AN INDIAN OFFICIAL,

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. H. SLEEMAN,

"THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND IS MAN"
E.ope.

(VOL. 1 & Vol 2)

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DEDICATION.

MY DEAR SISTER,

WERE any one to ask your countrymen in India what has been their greatest source of pleasure while there, perhaps nine in ten would say, the letters which they receive from their sisters at home. These of all things, tend most to link our affections with home by filling the landscapes, so dear to our recollections, with ever-varying groups of the family circles, among whom our infancy and our boyhood have been passed; and among whom we still hope to spend the winter of our days.

They have a very happy facility in making us familiar with the new additions made from time to time to the *dramatis personæ* of these scenes after we quit them, in the character of husbands, wives, children, or friends; and while thus contributing so much to our happiness, they no doubt tend to make us better citizens of the world, and servants of government, than we should otherwise be: for in our “*struggles through life*” in India, we have all, more or less, an eye to the approbation of those circles which our kind sisters represent—who may, therefore, be considered in the exalted light of a valuable species of *unpaid magistracy* to the government of India.

DEDICATION.

No brother has ever had a kinder or better correspondent than I have had in you, my dear sister; and it was the consciousness of having left many of your valued letters unanswered in the pressure of official duties, that made me first think of devoting a part of my leisure to you in these "*Rambles and Recollections*," while on my way from the banks of the Nurbudda river to the Himalah mountains, in search of health, in the end of 1835, and beginning of 1836. To what I wrote during that journey, I have now added a few notes, observations, and conversations with natives, on the subjects which my narrative seemed to embrace; and the whole will, I hope, interest and amuse you and the other members of our family; and appear, perchance, not altogether uninteresting or uninstruative to those who are strangers to us both.

Of one thing I must beg you to be assured, that I have nowhere indulged in fiction, either in the narrative, the recollections, or the conversations. What I relate, on the testimony of others, I believe to be true; and what I relate upon my own you may rely upon as being so. Had I chosen to write a work of fiction, I might possibly have made it a good deal more interesting; but I question whether it would have been so much valued by you, or so useful to others; and these are the objects I have had in view. The work may, perhaps, tend to make the people of India better understood by those of my countrymen whose destinies are cast among them, and inspire more kindly feelings towards them. Those

parts which, to the general reader, will seem dry and tedious, may be considered, by the Indian statesman as the most useful and important.

The opportunities of observation which varied employment has given me, have been such as fall to the lot of few; but although I have endeavoured to make the most of them, the time of public servants is not their own; and that of few men has been more exclusively devoted to the service of their masters than mine. It may be, however, that the world, or that part of it which ventures to read these pages, will think that it had been better had I not been left even the little leisure that has been devoted to them.

Your ever affectionate brother.

W. H. SLEEMAN.



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RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ANNUAL FAIRS HELD UPON THE BANKS OF SACRED STREAMS IN INDIA.

BEFORE setting out on our journey towards the Himmalah we formed once more an agreeable party to visit the marble rocks of the Nerbudda at Beraghat. It was the end of Katick (October) when the Hindoos hold fairs on all their sacred streams, at places consecrated by poetry or tradition as the scene of some divine work or manifestation. These fairs are at once festive and holy—every person who comes enjoying himself as much as he can, and at the same time seeking purification from all past transgressions by bathing and praying in the holy stream, and making laudable resolutions to be better for the future. The ceremonies last five days, and take place at the same time upon all the sacred rivers throughout India; and the greater part of the whole Hindoo population, from the summits of the Himmalah mountains to Cape Comorin, will I believe, during these five days, be found congregated at these fairs. In sailing down the Ganges one may pass, in the course of a day, half a dozen such fairs, each with a multitude equal to the population of a large city, and rendered beautifully picturesque by the magnificence and variety of the tent equipages of the great and wealthy. The preserver of the universe (Bhugwah) Vishnoo is supposed, on the 26th of Assar (June), to descend to the world below, (Putal,) to defend Raja Bull from the attacks of Idur, to stay with him four months, and to come up again on the 26th Katick (October). During his absence almost all kinds of worship and festivities are suspended; and they recommence at these fairs, where people assemble to hail his resurrection.

Our tents were pitched upon a green sward on one bank of a small stream running into the Nerbudda close by, while the multitude occupied the other bank. At night all the tents and booths are illuminated, and the scene is hardly less animating by night than by day ; but what strikes an European most is the entire absence of all tumult and disorder at such places. He not only sees no disturbance, but feels assured that there will be none ; and leaves his wife and children in the midst of a crowd of a hundred thousand persons all strangers to them, and all speaking a language and following a religion different from theirs, while he goes off the whole day, hunting and shooting in the distant jungles, without the slightest feeling of apprehension for their safety or comfort. It is a singular fact which I know to be true, that during the great mutiny of our native troops at Barrackpore in 1824, the chief leaders bound themselves by a solemn oath not to suffer any European lady or child to be injured or molested, happen what might to them in the collision with their officers and the government. My friend Captain Reid, one of the general staff, used to allow his children, five in number, to go into the lines and play with the soldiers of the mutinous regiments up to the very day when the artillery opened upon them ; and of above thirty European ladies then at the station, not one thought of leaving the place till they heard the guns. Mrs. Colonel Faithful, with her daughter and another young lady who had both just arrived from England, went lately all the way from Calcutta to Lodheana on the banks of the Hyphasis, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles, in their palankeens with relays of bearers, and without even a servant to attend them. They were travelling night and day for fourteen days without the slightest apprehension of injury or of insult. Cases of ladies travelling in the same manner by dâk immediately after their arrival from England to all parts of the country occur every day, and I know of no instance of injury or insult sustained by them. Does not this speak volumes for the

character of our rule in India?—would men trust their wives and daughters in this manner unprotected, among a people that disliked them and their rule? We have not a garrison, or walled cantonments, or fortified position of any kind for our residence from one end of our Eastern empire to the other, save at the three capitals of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. We know and feel that the people every where look up to and respect us, in spite of all our faults, and we like to let them know and feel that we have confidence in them.

Sir Thomas Munro has justly observed, "I do not exactly know what is meant by civilizing the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient; but if a good system of agriculture—if unrivalled manufactures—if a capacity to produce what convenience or luxury demands—if the establishment of schools for reading and writing—if the general practice of kindness and hospitality—and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex are amongst the points that denote a civilized people; then the Hindoos are not inferior in civilization to the people of Europe." The Bishop Heber writes in the same favourable terms of the Hindoos in the narrative of his journey through India; and where shall we find a mind more capable of judging of the merits and demerits of a people than his?

The concourse of people at this fair was, as usual, immense; but a great many who could not afford to provide tents for the accommodation of their families were driven away before their time by some heavy showers of, to them, unseasonable rains. On this, and similar occasions, the people bathe in the Nerbudda without the aid of priests, but a number of poor Brahmans attend at these festivals to receive charity, though not to assist at the ceremonies. Those who could afford it gave a trifling offering to these men as they came out of the sacred stream but in no case was it demanded, or even solicited with any appearance of importunity, as it commonly is at fairs and holy.

places on the Ganges. The first day, the people bathe below the rapid over which the river falls after it emerges from its peaceful abode among the marble rocks ; on the second day, just above this rapid ; and on the third day, two miles further up at the cascade, where the whole body of the limpid stream of the Nerbudda, confined to a narrow channel of only a few yards wide, falls tumultuously down in a beautiful cascade into a deep chasm of marble rocks. This fall of their sacred stream the people call the Dhovandhar, or the smoky fall, from the thick vapour which is always seen rising from it in the morning. From below, the river glides quietly and imperceptibly for a mile and a half along a deep and, according to popular belief, a fathomless channel of from ten to fifty yards wide, with snow white marble rocks rising perpendicularly on either side from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, and in some parts fearfully overhanging. Suspended in recesses of these white rocks, are numerous large black nests of hornets ready to descend upon any unlucky wight who may venture to disturb their repose ; and as the boats of the curious European visitors pass up and down to the sound of music, clouds of wild pigeons rise from each side, and seem sometimes to fill the air above them. Here, according to native legends, repose the Pundooas, the heroes of their great Homeric poem, the Mahabburat, whose names they have transferred to the valley of the Nerbudda. Every fantastic appearance of the rocks, caused by those great convulsions of nature which have so much disturbed the crust of the globe, or by the slow and silent working of the waters, is attributed to the godlike power of those great heroes of Indian romance, and is associated with the recollection of scenes in which they are supposed to have figured.

The strata of the Kymore range of sand-stone hills, which runs diagonally across the valley of the Nerbudda, are thrown up almost perpendicularly in some places many hundred feet above the level of the plain, while in others for many miles together their tops are only visible above the surface. These are so many strings of the

oxen which the arrows of Arjun, one of the five brothers, converted into stone; and many a stream which now waters the valley first sprang from the surface of the earth at the touch of his lance, as his troops wanted water. The image of the gods of a former day, which now lie scattered among the ruins of old cities, buried in the depth of the forest, are nothing less than the bodies of the kings of the earth turned into stone for their temerity in contending with these demigods in battle. Ponds among the rocks of the Nerbudda, where all the great fairs are held, still bear the names of the five brothers, who are the heroes of this great poem; and they are every year visited by hundreds of thousands who implicitly believe that their waters once received upon their bosoms the wearied limbs of those whose names they bear. What is life without the charms of fiction, and without the leisure and recreations which these sacred imaginings tend to give to the great mass of those who have nothing but the labour of their hands to depend upon for subsistence! Let no such fictions be believed, and the holidays and pastimes of the lower orders in every country would soon cease, for they have almost every where owed their origin and support to some religious dream which has commanded the faith and influenced the conduct of great masses of mankind, and prevented one man from presuming to work on the day that another wished to rest from his labours. The people were of opinion, they told me, that the Ganges, as a sacred stream, could last only sixty years more, when the Nerbudda would take its place. The waters of the Nerbudda are, they say, already so much more sacred than those of the Ganges, that to see them is sufficient to cleanse men from their sins, whereas the Ganges must be touched before it can have that effect.

At the temple built on the top of a conical hill at Beraghat overlooking the river, is a statue of a bull carrying Sewa, the god of destruction, and his wife Parbuttee seated behind him: they have both snakes in their hands; and Sewa has a large one round

his loins as a waistband. There are several demons in human shape lying prostrate under the belly of the bull, and the whole are well cut out of one large slab of hard basalt from a dyke in the marble rock beneath. They call the whole group "*Gouree Sunkur*," and I found in the fair, exposed for sale, a brass model of a similar one from Jeypore ; but not so well shaped and proportioned. On noticing this we were told, "that such difference was to be expected, since the brass must have been made by man, whereas the *Gouree Sunkur* of the temple above was a real *Py-Khan*, or a conversion of living beings into stone by the gods ; they were therefore the exact resemblance of living beings, while the others could only be rude imitations." *Gouree*, or the Fair, is the name of Parbuttee, or Davee, when she appears with her husband Sewa. On such occasions she is always fair and beautiful. *Sunkur* is another name of Sewa—or Mahadeo—or Rooder. On looking into the temple at the statue, a lady expressed her surprise at the entireness, as well the excellence of the figures, while all round had been so much mutilated by the Mahomedans. "They are quite a different thing from the others," said a respectable old landholder, "they are a conversion of real flesh and blood into stone, and no human hands can either imitate or hurt them !" She smiled incredulously, while he looked very grave, and appealed to the whole crowd of spectators assembled, who all testified to the truth of what he had said ; and added, "that at no distant day the figures would be all restored to life again—the deities would all come back without doubt and reanimate their old bodies again !"

All the people who come to bathe at the fair bring chaplets of yellow-jasmine, and hang them as offerings round the necks of the god and his consort : and at the same time they make some small offerings of rice to each of the many images that stand within the same apartment ; and also to those which, under a stone roof supported upon stone pillars, line the inside of the wall that surrounds the circular Area, in the centre of which the

temple stands. The images inside the temple are those of the three great gods, Brihna, Vishnoo and Sewa, with their primeval consorts ; but those that occupy the piazza outside are the representations of the consorts of the different *incarnations* of these three gods, and these consorts are themselves the incarnations of the primeval wives, who followed their husbands in all their earthly ramblings. They have all the female form, and are about the size of ordinary women, and extremely well cut out of fine white and green sand stone ; but their heads are those of the animals in which their respective husbands became incarnate, such as the lion, the elephant, &c., or those of the Bahuns, or animals on which they rode, such as the bull, the swan, the eagle, &c. But these, I presume, are mere *capricios* of the founder of the temple. The figures are sixty-four in number, all mounted upon their respective Bahuns, but have been sadly mutilated by the pious Mahomedans.

The old Mahunt, or high priest, told us, that Mahadeo and his wife were in reality our Adam and Eve ; “ they came here together,” said he, “ on a visit from the mountain Khylas, and being earnestly solicited to leave some memorial of their visit, got themselves turned into stone.” The popular belief is, that some very holy man, who had been occupied on the top of this little conical hill, where the temple now stands, in austere devotions for some few thousand years, was at last honoured with a visit from Sewa and his consort, who asked him what they could do for him. He begged them to wait till he should bring some flowers from the woods, to make them a suitable offering. They promised to do so ; and he ran down, plunged into the Nerbudda and drowned himself, in order that these august persons might for ever remain and do honour to his residence and his name. They however left only their “ mortal coil ;” but will one day return and resume it. I know not whether I am singular in the notion or not, but I think Mahadeo and his consort are really our Adam and Eve ; and that

the people have converted them into the god and goddess of destruction, from some vague idea of their original sin, which involved all their race in destruction. The snakes, which form the only dress of Maha deo, would seem to confirm this notion.

CHAPTER II.

HINDOO SYSTEM OF RELIGION.

THE Hindoo system is this. A great divine spirit or essence *Brimh* pervades the whole universe ; and soul of every human being is a drop from this great ocean, to which, when it becomes perfectly purified, it is reunited. The reunion is the eternal beatitude to which all look forward with hope ; and soul of the Brahman is nearest to it. If he has been a good man, his soul becomes absorbed in the *Brimh* ; and if a bad man, it goes to *Narak*, hell ; and after the expiration of its period there of *limited imprisonment*, it returns to earth, and occupies the body of some other animal. It again advances by degrees to the body of the Brahman ; and thence, when fitted for it, into the great *Brimh*. * From this great eternal essence emanate *Brimha*, the creator, whose consort is *Saraswatee* ; *Vishnoo*, the preserver, whose consort is *Lukshmee* ; and *Sewa*, alias *Mahadeo*, the destroyer, whose consort is *Parbuttee*. According to popular belief, *Junraj* is the judicial deity who has been appointed by the greater powers to pass the final judgment on the tenor of men's lives, according to proceedings drawn up by his secretary *Chuttergopat*. If men's actions have been good,

* Men are occasionally exempted from the necessity of becoming a Brahman first. Men of low caste, if they die at particular places, where it is the interest of the Brahmins to invite rich men to die, are promised absorption into the great *Brimh* at once. Immense number of wealthy men go every year from the most distant parts of India to die at Benares, where they spend large sums of money among the Brahmins. It is by their means that this, the second city in India, is supported.

their souls are, as the next stage, advanced a step towards the great essence Brimh ; and if bad, they are thrown back, and obliged to occupy the bodies of brutes or of people of inferior caste, as the balance against them may be great or small. There is an intermediate stage, a *Naruk* or hell, for bad men, and a *Bykont*, or paradise, for the good, in which they find their felicity in serving that god of the three to which they have especially devoted themselves while on earth. But from this stage after the period of their sentence is expired, men go back to their pilgrimage on earth again.

There are numerous Deos, or good spirits, of whom Indur is the chief ; and Dyts, or bad spirits ; and there have also been a great number of incarnations from the three great gods and their consorts, who have made their appearance upon the earth when required for particular purposes. All these incarnations are called Outars, or descents. Vishnoo has been eleven times on the globe, in different shapes, and Sewa seven times. The outars of Vishnoo are celebrated in many popular poems, such as the *Rumaen*, or history of the rape of Seeta, the wife of Ram, the seventh incarnation,* the *Mahabhurut*, and the *Bhagiout*, which describe the wars and amours of this god in his last human shape. All these books are believed to have been written either by the hand or by the inspiration of the god himself thousands of years before the events they describe actually took place. "It was, they say, as easy for the deity to write or dictate a battle, an *amour*, or any other important event ten thousand years before, as the day after it took place ; and I believe nine tenths, perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred, of the Hindoo population believe implicitly, that these accounts were all written. It is now pretty clear that all these works are

* Seeta was an incarnation of Lukshmee, she became incarnate again many centuries afterwards, as the wife of Krishna, another incarnation of Vishnoo.

of comparatively recent date—that the great poem of the Mahabburut could not have been written before the year 786 of the christian era, and was probably written so late as A. D. 1157—that Krishna, *if born at all*, must have been born on the 7th of August A. D. 600, but was most likely a mere creation of the imagination to serve the purpose of the Brahmans of Ojeyn, in whom the fiction originated—that the other incarnations were invented about the same time, and for the same object, though the other persons described as incarnations were real princes, Pursaram before Christ 1176, and Rama born before Christ 961. In the Mahabburut Krishna is described as fighting in the same army with Judishter and his four brothers. Judishter was a real person who ascended the throne at Dehlie 575 B. C., or 1175 years before the birth of Krishna.

Bentley supposes that the incarnations, particularly that of Krishna, were invented by the Brahmans of Ojeyn with a view to check the progress of Christianity in that part of the world—see his historical view of the Hindoo astronomy. That we find in no history any account of the alarming progress of Christianity about the time these fables were written, is no proof that Bentley was wrong. When Mons. Thievenot was at Agra 1666, the christian population was roughly estimated at twenty-five thousand families. They had all passed away before it became one of our civil and military stations in the beginning of the present century, and we might search history in vain for any mention of them,—see his travels in India, part three. One single prince well disposed to give Christians encouragement and employment, might, in a few years, get the same number around his capital; and it is probable that the early Christians in India occasionally found such princes, and gave just cause of alarm to the Brahman priests who were then in the infancy of their despotic power.

During the war with Nepaul in 1814, and 1815, the division with which I served came upon an extremely interesting colony of

about two thousand christian families at Betecah, in the Tirhoot district on the borders of the Turac forest. This colony had been created by one man, the Bishop, a Venetian by birth, under the protection of a small Hindoo prince, the Rajah of Beteeah. This holy man had been some fifty years among these people, with little or no support from Europe or from any other quarter. The only aid he got from the Rajah was a pledge that no member of his church should be subject to the *Purveyance system*, under which the people every where suffered so much ; and this pledge the Rajah, though a Hindoo, had never suffered to be violated. There were men of all trades among them, and they formed one very large street remarkable for the superior style of its buildings and the sober industry of its inhabitants. The masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths of this little colony were working in our camp every day, while we remained in the vicinity, and better workmen I have never seen in India ; but they would all insist upon going to divine service at the prescribed hours. They had built a splendid pukka dwelling house for their bishop, and a still more splendid church, and formed for him the finest garden I have seen in India, surrounded with a good wall, and provided with admirable pukka wells. The native christian servants who attended at the old bishop's table, taught by himself, spoke Latin to him ; but he was become very feeble, and spoke himself a mixture of Latin, Italian, his native tongue, and Hindoostanee. We used to have him at our messes, and take as much care of him as of an infant, for he was become almost as frail as one. The joy and the excitement of being once more among Europeans, and treated by them with so much reverence in the midst of his flock, were perhaps too much for him, for he sickened and died soon after.

The raja died soon after him, in all probability the flock has disappeared. No Europeans except a few Indigo planters of the neighbourhood had ever before known or heard of this colony ; and

they seemed to consider them only as a set of great scoundrels, who had better carts and bullocks than anybody else in the country which they refused to let out at the same rate as the others, and which they (indigo lords) were not permitted to seize and employ *at discretion*. Roman catholics have a greater facility in making converts in India than protestants, from having so much more in their form of worship to win the affections through the medium of the imagination.

CHAPTER III.

LEGEND OF THE NERBUDDA RIVER.

THE legend is, that the Nerbudda which flows west into the gulf of Cambay was wooed and won in the usual way by the Sohun river, which rises from the same tableland of Omurkuntuk, and flows east into the Ganges and Bay of Bengal. All the previous ceremonies having been performed, the Sohun came with due "pomp and circumstances" to fetch his bride, in the procession called the *Burrat*, up to which time the bride and bridgroom are supposed never to have seen each other, unless perchance they may have met in infancy. Her Majesty the Nerbudda became exceedingly impatient to know what sort of a personage her destinies were to be linked to, while his majesty the Sohun advanced at a slow and stately pace. At last the Queen sent Jhola, the daughter of the leader, to take a close view of him, and to return and make a faithful and particular report of his person. His majesty was captivated with the little Jhola, the barber's daughter, at first sight; and she "nothing loath," yielded to his caresses. Some say that she actually pretended to be Queen herself; and that his majesty was no further in fault, than in mistaking the humble handmaid for her noble mistress; but, be that as it may, her majesty no sooner heard of the good understanding between them, than she rushed forward, and with one foot sent the Sohun rolling back to the east whence he came, and with the other kicked little Jhola sprawling after him: for, said the high priest, who told us the story, "you

see what a towering passion she was likely to have been in under such indignities, from the furious manner in which she cuts her way through the marble rocks beneath us, and casts huge masses right and left as she goes along, as if they were really so many cocoanuts!" "And was she," asked I, "to have flown eastward with him, or was he to have flown westward with her?" "She was to have accompanied him eastward," said the high priest; "but her majesty, after this indignity, declared, that she would not go a single pace in the same direction with such wretches, and would flow west, though all the other rivers in India might flow east: and west she flows accordingly a virgin queen!" I asked some of the Hindoos about us why they called her *Mother Nerbudda*, if she was really never married. "Her majesty," said they with great respect, "would really never consent to be married after the indignity she suffered from her affianced bridegroom the Sohun; and we call her mother because she blesses us all, and we are anxious to accost her by the name which we consider to be at once the most respectful and endearing." Any Englishman can easily conceive a poet in his highest "calenture of the brain," addressing the ocean as 'a steed that knows his rider,' and patting the crested billow as his flowing mane: but he must come to India to understand how every individual of a whole community of many millions can address a fine river as a living being—a sovereign princess, who hears and understands all they say, and exercises a kind of local superintendence over their affairs, without a single temple in which her image is worshipped, or a single priest to profit by the delusion. As in the case of the Ganges, it is the river itself to whom they address themselves, and not to any deity residing in it, or presiding over it—the stream itself is the deity which fills their imaginations, and receives their homage.

Among the Romans and ancient Persians rivers were propitiated by sacrifices. When Vitellius crossed the Euphrates

with the Roman legions to put Tiridates on the throne of Armenia, they propitiated *the river* according to the rites of their country by the *suovetaurilia*, the sacrifice of the hog, the ram, and the bull. Tiridates did the same by the sacrifice of a horse. Tacitus does not mention the river *god*, but the river *itself*, as propitiated. See b. vi. chap. 37. Plato makes Socrates condemn Homer for making Achilles behave disrespectfully towards the river Xanthus, though acknowledged to be a divinity, in offering to fight him; and towards the river Sperchius, another acknowledged god, in presenting to the dead body of Patroclus the locks of his hair which he had promised to that river.

The Sohun river, which rises near the source of the Nerbudda on the table land of Omurkuntuk, takes a westerly course for some miles, and then turns off suddenly to the east, and is joined by the little stream of the Jhola before it descends the great cascade; and hence the poets have created this fiction, which the mass of the population receive as divine revelation. The statue of little Jhola, the barber's daughter, in stone, stands in the temple of the goddess Nerbudda at Omurkuntuk, bound in chains. It may here be remarked, that the first overtures of marriage in India must always be made through the medium of the *Barber*, whether they be from the prince or the peasant. If a sovereign prince sends proposals to a sovereign princess, they must be conveyed through the medium of the *Barber*, or they will never be considered as done in due form, as likely to prove propitious. The prince will, of course, send some relation or high functionary with him; but in all the credentials the Barber must be named as the principal functionary. Hence it was that her majesty was supposed to have sent a Barber's daughter to meet her husband.

The Mahatum (greatness or holiness) of the Ganges is said, as I have already stated, to be on the wane, and not likely to endure sixty years longer; while that of the Nerbudda is on

the increase, and in sixty years is entirely to supersede the sanctity of her sister. If the valley of the Nerbudda should continue for sixty years longer under such a government as it has enjoyed since we took possession of it in 1817, it may become infinitely more rich, more populous, and more beautiful than that of the Nile ever was ; and if the Hindoos there continue, as I hope they will, to acquire wealth and honour under a rule to which they are so much attached, the prophecy may be realized in as far as the increase of honour paid to the Nerbudda is concerned. But I know no ground to expect that the revenue paid to the Ganges will diminish, unless education and the concentration of capital in manufactures should work an important change in the religious feelings and opinions of the people along the course of that river ; although this, it must be admitted, is a consummation which may be looked for more speedily on the banks of the Ganges than on those of a stream like the Nerbudda, which is neither navigable at present, nor in my opinion capable of being rendered so. Commerce and manufactures, and the concentration of capital in the maintenance of the new communities employed in them, will, I think, be the great media through which this change will be chiefly effected ; and they are always more likely to follow the course of rivers that are navigable than that of rivers which are not.

CHAPTER IV.



A SUTTEE ON THE NERBUDDA.

WE took a ride one evening to Gopalpore, a small village situated on the same bank of the Nerbudda, about three miles up from Beraghat. On our way we met a party of women and girls coming to the fair. Their legs were uncovered half way up the thigh ; but as we passed, they all carefully covered up their faces. " Good God," exclaimed one of the ladies, " how can these people be so very indecent !" *They* thought it, no doubt equally extraordinary, that she should have her face uncovered, while she so carefully concealed her legs ; for they were really all modest peasantry, going from the village to bathe in the holy stream. Here there are some very pretty temples built for the most part to the memory of widows who have burned themselves with the remains of their husbands, and upon the very spot where they committed themselves to the flames. There was one which had been recently raised over the ashes of one of the most extraordinary old ladies that I have ever seen, who burned herself in my presence in 1829. I prohibited the building of any temple upon the spot, but my successor in the civil charge of the district, Major Low, was never, I believe, made acquainted with the prohibition nor with the progress of the work, which therefore went on to completion during my absence. As suttees are now prohibited in our dominions, and cannot be often seen or described by Europeans, I shall here relate the circumstances of this as they were recorded by me at the time ; and the reader may rely upon the truth of the whole tale.

On the 29th November, 1829, this old woman, then about sixty-five years of age, here mixed her ashes with those of her husband, who had been burned alone four days before. On receiving civil charge of the district (Jubbulpore) in March, 1828, I issued a proclamation prohibiting any one from aiding or assisting in suttee; and distinctly stating, that to bring one ounce of wood for the purpose would be considered as so doing. If the woman burned herself with the body of her husband, any one who brought wood for the purpose of burning *him*, would become liable to punishment; consequently the body of the husband must be first consumed, and the widow must bring a fresh supply for herself. On Tuesday, 24th November, 1829, I had an application from the heads of the most respectable and most extensive family of Brahmans in the district, to suffer this old widow to burn herself with the remains of her husband, Omed Sing Opuddea, who had that morning died upon the banks of the Nerbudda. I threatened to enforce my order, and punish severely any man who assisted; and placed a police guard for the purpose of seeing that no one did so. She remained sitting by the edge of the water without eating or drinking. The next day the body of her husband was burned to ashes in a small pit of about eight feet square, and three or four feet deep, before several thousand spectators who had assembled to see the suttee. All strangers dispersed before evening, as there seemed to be no prospect of my yielding to the urgent solicitations of her family, who dared not touch food till she had burned herself, or declared herself willing to return to them. Her sons, grandsons, and some other relatives remained with her, while the rest surrounded my house, ^{is} one urging me to allow her to burn, and the other urging her to desist. She remained sitting upon a bare rock in the bed of the Nerbudda, refusing every kind of sustenance, and exposed to the intense heat of the sun by day, and the severe cold, of the night, with only a thin sheet thrown over her shoulders. (

Thursday, to cut off all hope of her being moved from her purpose, she put on the *Dhujja*, or coarse red turban, and broke her bracelets in pieces, by which she became dead in law, and for ever excluded from caste. Should she choose to live after this, she could never return to her family. Her children and grandchildren were still with her, but all their entreaties were unavailing; and I became satisfied, that she would starve herself to death if not allowed to burn, by which the family would be disgraced, her miseries prolonged, and I myself rendered liable to be charged with a wanton abuse of authority, for no prohibition of the kind I had issued has as yet received the formal sanction of the government.

On Saturday the 28th, in the morning, I rode out ten miles to the spot, and found the poor old widow sitting with the *dhujja* round her head, a brass plate before her with undressed rice and flowers, and a cocoa-nut in each hand. She talked very collectedly, telling me, that "she had determined to mix her ashes with those of her departed husband, and should patiently wait my permission to do so, assured that God would enable her to sustain life till that was given, though she dared not eat or drink. Looking at the sun, then rising before her over a long and beautiful reach of the Nerbudda river, she said calmly, "My soul has been for five days with my husband's near that sun—nothing but my earthly frame is left; and this I know you will in time suffer to be mixed with the ashes of his in yonder pit, because it is not in our nature or your usage wantonly to prolong the miseries of a poor old woman." "Indeed it is not,—my object and my duty is to save and preserve them; and I am come to dissuade you from your idle purpose—to urge you to live, and to keep your family from the disgrace of being thought your murderers."

"I am not afraid of their ever being so thought—they have all, like good children, done everything in their power to induce me to live among them; and if I had done so, I know they would

have loved and honoured me ; but my duties to them have now ended. I commit them all to your care, and I go to attend my husband, *Omed Sing Opuddea*, with whose ashes on the funeral pile mine have been already three times mixed."

This was the first time in her long life that she had ever pronounced the name of her husband, for in India no woman high or low ever pronounces the name of her husband—she would consider it disrespectful towards him to do so ; and it is often amusing to see their embarrassment when asked the question by any European gentleman. They look right and left for some one to relieve them from the dilemma of appearing disrespectful either to the querist, or to their absent husbands—they perceive that he is unacquainted with their duties on this point, and are afraid he will attribute their silence to disrespect. They know that few European gentlemen are acquainted with them ; and when women go into our courts of justice, or other places where they are liable to be asked the names of their husbands, they commonly take one of their children or some other relation with them to pronounce the words in their stead. When the old lady named her husband, as she did with strong emphasis, and in a very deliberate manner, every one present was satisfied that she had resolved to die. "I have," she continued, "tasted largely of the bounty of government, having been maintained by it with all my large family in ease and comfort upon our rent-free lands ; and I feel assured that children will not be suffered to want : but with them I have nothing more to do, our intercourse and communion here end. 'My' (pran) is with *Omed Sing Opuddea* ; and my ashes must here be mixed with his." Again looking to the sun—"I see them together," said she, with a tone and countenance that affected me a good deal, 'under the bridal canopy !'—alluding to the ceremonies of marriage ; and I am satisfied, that she at that moment really believed that she saw her own spirit and that of her husband under the bridal canopy in paradise."

I tried to work upon her pride and her fears. I told her that it was probable that the rent-free lands by which her family had been so long supported might be resumed by the government, as a mark of its displeasure against the children for not dissuading her from the sacrifice—that the temples over her ancestors upon the bank might be levelled with the ground, in order to prevent their operating to induce others to make similar sacrifices; and lastly, that not one single brick or stone should ever mark the place where she died, if she persisted in her resolution. But if she consented to live, a splendid habitation should be built for her among these temples—a handsome provision assigned for her support out of these rent-free lands—her children should come daily to visit her, and I should frequently do the same. She smiled, but held out her arm, and said—“My pulse has long ceased to beat—my spirit has departed—and I have nothing left but a little *earth* that I wish to mix with the ashes of my husband—I shall suffer nothing in burning; and if you wish proof, order some fire, and you shall see this *arm* consumed without giving me any pain.” I did not attempt to feel her pulse, but some of my people did, and declared that it had ceased to be perceptible. At this time every native present believed that she was incapable of suffering pain; and her end confirmed them in their opinion.

Satisfied myself that it would be unavailing to attempt to save her life, I sent for all the principal members of the family, and consented that she should be suffered to burn herself if they would enter into engagements that no other member of their family should ever do the same. This they all agreed to, and the papers having been drawn out in due form about mid-day, I sent down notice to the old lady, who seemed extremely pleased and thankful. The ceremonies of bathing were gone through before three, while the wood and other combustible materials for a strong fire were collected and put into the pit. After bathing, she called for a pawn (betel leaf) and ate it, then rose up, and with one arm

on the shoulder of her eldest son, and the other on that of her nephew, approached the fire. I had sentries placed all round, and no other person was allowed to approach within five paces. As she rose up, fire was set to the pile, and it was instantly in a blaze. The distance was about one hundred and fifty yards—she came on with a calm and cheerful countenance—stopped once, and casting her eyes upward said—"Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband!" On coming to the sentries her supporters stopped—she walked once round the pit, paused a moment; and while muttering a prayer threw some flowers into the fire. She then walked up deliberately and steadily to the brink, stepped into the centre of the flame, sat down, and leaning back in the midst as if reposing upon a couch, was consumed without uttering a shriek or betraying one sign of agony! A few instruments of music had been provided, and they played as usual as she approached the fire, not as is commonly supposed, in order to drown screams, but to prevent the last words of the victim from being heard, as these are supposed to be prophetic, and might become sources of pain or strife to the living. It was not expected that I should yield, and but few people had assembled to witness the sacrifice, so that there was little or nothing in the circumstances immediately around to stimulate her to any extraordinary exertions; and I am persuaded that it was the desire of again being united to her husband in the next world, and the entire confidence that she would be so if she now burned herself, that alone sustained her. From the morning of the day before Tuesday, till Wednesday evening, she ate pawns or betel leaves, but nothing else, and from Wednesday evening she ceased eating them. She drank no water from Tuesday. She went into the fire with the same cloth about her that she had worn in the bed of the river; but it was made wet, from a persuasion, that even the shadow of any impure thing falling upon her when going to the pile contaminated the woman, unless counteracted by the

sheet moistened in the holy stream. I must do the family the justice to say, that they all exerted themselves to dissuade the widow from her purpose; and had she lived, she would assuredly have been cherished and honoured as the first female member of the whole house. There is no people in the world among whom parents are more loved, honoured, and obeyed, than among the Hindoos; and the grandmother is always more honoured than the mother. No queen upon her throne could ever have been approached with more reverence by her subjects than was this old lady by all the members of her family as she sat upon a naked rock in the bed of the river, with only a red rag upon her head, and a single white sheet over her shoulders! Soon after the battle of Trafalgar I heard a young lady exclaim, "I could really wish to have had a brother killed in that action." There is no doubt that a family in which a suttee takes place feels a good deal exalted in its own esteem and that of the community by the sacrifice. The sister of the Rajah of Rewa was one of four or five wives who burned themselves with the remains of the Rajah of Oodeepore; and nothing in the course of his life will ever be recollected by her brother with so much of pride and pleasure, since the Oodeepore Rajah is the head of the Rajpoot tribes.

I asked the old lady when she had first resolved upon becoming a suttee, and she told me, that about thirteen years before, while bathing in the river Nerbudda, near the spot where she then, with many other females of the family, the resolution had fixed itself in her mind as she looked at the splendid temples on the bank of the river, erected by the different branches of the family over the ashes of her female relations, who had at different times become suttees. Two, I think, were over her aunts, and one over the mother of her husband. They were very beautiful buildings, and had been erected at great cost and kept in good repair. She told me that she had never mentioned this her resolution to any one from that time, nor breathed a syllable on the subject till

she called out *suth, suth, suth!* when her husband breathed his last with his head in her lap on the bank of the Nerbudda, to which he had been taken when no hopes remained of his surviving the fever of which he died.

The following conversation took place one morning between me and a native gentleman at Jubbulpore soon after suttees had been prohibited by government.

"What are the castes among whom women are not permitted to re-marry after the death of their husbands?"

"They are, sir, Brahmans, Rajpoots, Buneas (shopkeepers), Kaets (writers)."

"Why not permit them to marry now that they are no longer permitted to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands?"

"The knowledge that they cannot unite themselves to a second husband without degradation from caste, tends strongly to secure their fidelity to the first, sir. Besides, if all widows were permitted to marry again, what distinction would remain between us and people of lower caste? We should all soon sink to a level with the lowest!"

"And so you are content to keep up your caste at the expense of the poor widows?"

"No: they are themselves as proud of the distinction as their husbands are."

"And would they, do you think, like to have the good old custom of burning themselves restored?"

"Some of them would, no doubt."

"Why?"

"Because they become re-united to their husbands in *paradise*, and are there happy, free from all the troubles of this life."

"But you should not let them have any troubles as widows."

"If they behave well, they are the most honoured members of their deceased husband's families; nothing in such families is ever

done without consulting them, because all are proud to have the memory of their lost fathers, sons, and brothers so honoured by their widows. But women feel that they are frail; and would often rather burn themselves at once than be exposed all their lives to temptation and suspicion."

"And why do not the men burn themselves to avoid the troubles of life?"

"Because they are not called to it from Heaven, as the women are."

"And you think that the women were really called to be burned by the Deity?"

"No doubt: we all believe that they were called and supported by the Deity; and that no tender beings like women could otherwise voluntarily undergo such tortures—they become inspired with supernatural powers of courage and fortitude! When Dhoollee Sookul, the Schora banker's father, died, the wife of a *Lodhee* cultivator of the town declared, all at once, that she had been a *suttee* with him six times before; and that she would now go into paradise with him a seventh time. Nothing could dissuade her from burning herself. She was between fifty and sixty years of age; and had grandchildren; and all her family tried to persuade her that it must be a mistake, but all in vain. She became a *suttee*, and was burnt the day after the body of the banker!"

"Did not Dhoollee Sookul's family, who were Brahmans, try to dissuade her from it, she being a *Lodhee*, a very low caste?"

"They did; but they said all things were possible with God; it was generally believed, that this was a call from heaven."

"and what became of the banker's widow?"

"She said that she felt no divine call to the flames. This was thirty years ago; and the banker was about thirty years of age when he died."

"Then he will have rather an old wife in paradise?"

"No, sir; after they pass through the flames upon earth, both become young in paradise."

"Sometimes women used to burn themselves with any relict of a husband who had died far from home, did they not?"

"Yes, sir, I remember a fisherman, about twenty years ago, who went on some business to Banares from Jubbulpore, and who was to have been back in two months. Six months passed away without any news of him; and at last the wife dreamed that he had died on the road, and began forthwith, in the middle of the night, to call out *Sut, Sut, Sut!* Nothing could dissuade her from burning; and in the morning a pile was raised for her, on the north bank of the large tank of Hoonooman, where you have planted an avenue of trees. There I saw her burned with her husband's turban in her arms—and in ten days after, her husband came back?"

"Now the burning has been prohibited, a man cannot get rid of a bad wife so easily?"

"But she was a good wife, sir, and bad ones do not often become suttees."

"Who made the pile for her?"

"Some of her family, but I forget who; they thought it must have been a call from heaven, when, in reality, it was only a dream."

"You are a Rajpoot?"

"Yes."

"Do Rajpoots, in this part of India, now destroy their female infants?"

"Never: that practice has ceased everywhere in these parts; and is growing into disuse in Bundelcund, where the Rajahs, at the request of the British Government, have prohibited it among their subjects. This was a measure of real good. You see girls now at play in villages, where the face of one was never seen be-

fofe, nor the voice of one heard."

" But still those who have them grumble, and say that the government which caused them to be preserved should undertake to provide for their marriage. Is it not so ?"

" At first they grumbled a little, sir ; but as the infants grew upon their affections, they thought no more about it."

Goorchurn Baboo, the principal of the little Jubbulpore College, called upon me one forenoon, soon after this conversation. He was educated in the Calcutta College ; speaks and writes English exceedingly well ; is tolerably well read in English literature, and is decidedly a *thinking man*. After talking over the matter which caused his visit, I told him of the Lodhee woman's burning herself with the Brahman banker at Schora ; and asked him what he thought of it.

He said, " That in all probability this woman had really been the wife of the Brahman in some former birth—of which transposition a singular case had occurred in his own family. His great-grandfather had three wives, who all burnt themselves with his body. While they were burning, a large *serpent* came up, and ascending the pile, was burnt with them. Soon after, another came up, and did the same ! They were seen by the whole multitude, who were satisfied that they had been the wives of his great grandfather in a former birth, and would become so again after this sacrifice. When the Suradh, or funeral obsequies, were performed after the prescribed intervals, the offerings and prayers were regularly made for *six souls* instead of four ; and to this day every member of his family, and every Hindoo who had heard the story, believed that these two serpents had a just right to be considered as among his ancestors, and to be prayed for accordingly in all Suradh !"

A few days after this conversation with the principal of Jubbulpore College, I had a visit from Bholce Sookul, the present head of the Schora banker's family, and youngest brother of the

Brahman with whose ashes the Lodhee woman burned herself. I requested him to tell me all that he recollected about this singular suttee and he did so as follows:—

"When my eldest brother, the father of the late Dhoolee Sookul, who was so long a native collector under you in this district, died about twenty years ago at Sehora, a Lodhee woman, who resided two miles distant in the village of Khittolee, which has been held by our family for several generations, declared that she would burn herself with him on the funeral pile; that she had been his wife in three different births, had already burnt herself with him three times, and had to burn with him four times more. She was then sixty years of age, and had a husband living about the same age. We were all astounded when she came forward with this story; and told her that it must be a mistake, as we were Brahmans, while she was a Lodhee. She said that there was no mistake in the matter; that she, in the last birth, resided with my brother in the sacred city of Banares, and one day gave a holy man who came to ask charity, salt, by mistake, instead of sugar with his food. That, in consequence, he told her she should in the next birth, be separated from her husband, and be of inferior caste; but that, if she did her duty well in that state, she should be reunited to him in the following birth. We told her that all this must be a dream; and the widow of my brother insisted that if she were not allowed to burn herself, the other should not be allowed to take her place. We prevented the widow from ascending the pile, and she died at a good old age only two years ago at Sehora. My brother's body was burned at Sehora, and the poor Lodhee woman came and stole one handful of the ash which she placed in her bosom, and took back with her to Khittolee. There she prevailed upon her husband and his brother to assist her in her return to her former husband and caste as a Brahman. No soul else would assist them, as we got the then native chief to prohibit it; and these three persons brought on their own

heads the pile on which she seated herself with the ashes in her bosom. The husband and his brother set fire to the pile, and she was burned."

"And what is now your opinion, after a lapse of twenty years?"

"Why, that she had really been the wife of my brother; for at the pile she prophesied that my nephew Dhoolce should be, what his grandfather had been, high in the service of government; and, as you know, he soon after became so."

"And what did your father think?"

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"He was so satisfied that she had been the wife of his eldest son in a former birth, that he defrayed all the expenses of her funeral ceremonies; and had them all observed with as much magnificence as those of any member of the family. Her tomb is still to be seen at Khittolee, and that of my brother at Sehora."

I went to look at these tombs with Bholee Sookul himself some short time after this conversation; and found that all the people of the town of Sehora and village of Khittolee really believed, that the old Lodhee woman had been his brother's wife in a former birth, and had now burned herself as his widow for the fourth time. Her tomb is at Khittolee, and his at Sehora.




CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGES OF TREES—THE TANK AND THE PLANTAIN—
METEORS—RAINDOWS.

BEFORE quitting Jubbulpore, to which place I thought it very unlikely that I should ever return, I went to visit the groves in the vicinity, which, at the time I held the civil charge of the district in 1828, had been planted by different native gentlemen upon lands assigned to them rent free for the purpose, on condition that the holder should bind himself to plant trees at the rate of twenty-five to the acre, and keep them up at that rate—and that for each grove, however small, he should build and keep in repair a well lined with masonry for watering the trees, and for the benefit of travellers.* Some of these groves had already begun to yield fruit, and all had been *married*. Among the Hindoos, neither the man who plants a grove nor his wife can taste of the fruit till he has *married* one of the mango trees to some other tree (commonly the tamarind tree) that grows near it in the same grove. The proprietor of one of these groves that stands between the cantonment and the town, old Berjore Sing, had spent so much in planting and watering the grove, and building walls and wells of pukka masonry, that he could not afford to defray the expense of the marriage ceremonies till one of the trees, which was older than the rest when planted, began to bear fruit in 1833, and poor old Berjore Sing and his old wife were in great distress

* In planting mango groves, it is a rule that they shall be as far from each other, as not to admit of their branches ever meeting. "Plant trees; but, let them not touch." "Aam lagow—nais lugee nuhsen," is the maxim.

that they dared not taste of the fruit whose flavour was much praised by their children. They began to think that they had neglected a serious duty, and might, in consequence, be taken off before another season could come round. They therefore sold all their silver and gold ornaments, and borrowed all they could ; and before the next season the grove was married with all due pomp and ceremony, to the great delight of the old pair, who tasted of the fruit in June 1834.

The larger the number of Brahmans that are fed on the occasion of the marriage, the greater the glory of the proprietor of the grove ; and when I asked old Berjore Sing, during my visit to his grove, how many he had feasted, he said, with a heavy sigh, that he had been able to feast only one hundred and fifty. He showed me the mango tree which had acted the part of the bridegroom on the occasion ; but the bride had disappeared from his side. " And where is the bride, the tamarind ?" " The only tamarind I had in the grove died," said the old man, " before we could bring about the wedding ; and I was obliged to get a jasmine for a wife for my mango. I planted it here, so that we might, as required, cover both, bride and bridegroom under one canopy during the ceremonies ; but after the marriage was over, the gardenor neglected her, and she pined away and died." " And what made you prefer the jasmine to all other trees after the tamarind ?" " Because it is the most celebrated of all trees save the rose." And why not have chosen the rose for a wife ?" " Because no one ever heard of marriage between the rose and the mango : while they take place every day between the mango and the chunbaelee (jasmine)." 

After returning from the groves, I had a visit after breakfast from a learned Mahomedan, now guardian to the young Raja of Oocheyrah, who resides part of his time at Jubulpore. I mentioned my visit to the groves, and the curious notion of the Hindoos regarding the necessity of marrying them : and he

told me, that among Hindoos, the man who went to the expense of making a *tank*, dared not drink of its waters till he had married his tank to some banana tree, planted on the bank for the purpose.

"But what," said he, with a smile, "could you expect from men who believe that Indur is the god who rules the heavens immediately over the earth; that he sleeps during eight months in the year, and during the other four his time is divided between his duties of sending down rain upon the earth, and repelling with his arrows *Raja Bull*, who by his austere devotions (*Tupaseea*) has received from the higher gods a promise of the reversion of his dominions. The lightning which we see," said the learned Moulavee, "they believe to be nothing more than the glittering of these arrows, as they are shot from the bow of Indur upon his foe *Raja Bull*."*

"But, my good friend, Moulavee Sahib, there are many good Mahomedans who believe that the meteors, which we call shooting stars, are in reality stars which the guardian angels of man snatch from the spheres, and throw at the devil as they see him passing through the air, or hiding himself under one or other of the constellations. Is it not so?"

"Yes it is; but we have the authority of the holy prophet for this, as delivered down to us by his companions, in the sacred traditions; and we are bound to believe it. When our holy prophet came upon the earth, he found it to be infested with a host of magicians, who, by their abominable rites and incantations, get into their interests certain devils, or demons, whom they used

* There is a sublime passage in the Psalms of David, where the lightening is said to be the arrows of God.—*Psalms lxxvii.*

"The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad."

The voice of thy thunder was in the heavens; the lightnings lightened the world. The earth trembled and shook."

to send up to heaven, to listen to the orders which the angels received from God, regarding men and the world below. On hearing these orders they came off, and reported them to the magicians, who were thereby enabled to foretel the events which the angels were ordered to bring about. In this manner they often overheard the orders which the *angel Gabriel* received from God ; and communicated them to the magicians as soon as he could deliver them to our holy prophet. Exulting in the knowledge obtained in this *diabolical* manner, these wretches tried to turn his prophecies into ridicule ; and seeing the evil effects of such practices among men, he prayed to God to put a stop to them. From that time guardian angels have been stationed in different parts of the heavens, to keep off the devils ; and as soon as one of them sees a devil sneaking too near the heaven of heavens, he snatches the nearest star, and flings it at him." This, he added was what all true Mahomedans believed regarding the shooting of stars. He had read nothing about them in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, or Galen, all of which he had carefully, studied ; and should be glad to learn from me what modern philosophers in Europe thought about them.

I explained to him the supposed distance and bulk of the fixed stars, visible to the naked eye ; their being radiant with unborrowed light, and probably every one of them, like our own sun, the great centre of a solar system of its own ; embracing the vast orbits of numerous planets, revolving around it with their attendant satellites—the stars visible to the naked eye being but a very small portion of the whole which the telescope had now made distinctly visible to us ; and those distinctly visible being one cluster among many thousand with which the genius of Galileo, Newton, the Herschells, and many other modern philosophers had discovered the heavens to be studded. I remarked, that the notion that these mighty suns, the centres of planetary systems, should be made merely to be thrown at devils and demons, appear-

ed to us just as unaccountable as those of the Hindoos regarding Indur's arrows.

"But," said he, "these foolish Hindoos believe still greater absurdities. They believe that the rainbow is nothing more than the *fume of a large snake*, concealed under the ground; that he vomits forth this fume from a hole in the surface of the earth, without being himself seen; and when you ask them, why, in that case, the rainbow should be in the west while the sun is in the east, and in the east while the sun is in the west, they know not what to say."*

"The truth is, my friend, Moulavee Sahib, the Hindoos, like a very great part of every other nation, are very much disposed to attribute to supernatural influences effects that the wiser portion of our species know to rise from natural causes."

The Moulavee was right. In the Mishecatol Masabeh, the authentic traditions of their prophet, it is stated, that A'isha, (the widow of Mahomed,) said, "I heard his majesty say, the angels come down to the regions next the world, and mention the works that have been pre-ordained in heaven; when the devils, who descend to the lowest regions, listen to the words, and hearing the orders predestined in heaven, carry them to fortune-tellers, who found upon them a hundred lies of their own."

Abu Abas states: "One of the holy prophet's friends informed me, that while he was sitting one night with his majesty, in company with several other friends, a very bright star shot. "What," demanded the prophet, 'did you say in *the days of ignorance*, when a star shot like this?' They replied, 'God and his messenger know best; but we used to say, that a great man was born to'

Nine Hindoos out of ten, or perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred, throughout India, believe the rainbow to arise from the breath of the snake, thrown up from the surface of the earth, as water is thrown up by whales from the surface of the ocean.

night, or a great man died.* ‘There,’ said his majesty, ‘you mistake—the shootings of these stars are neither for the life nor the death of great persons. When our *cherisher* orders a work, the bearers of the imperial throne sing hallelujahs, and the inhabitants of the nearer regions repeat it, till it reaches the lowest regions. After that the angels, which are near the bearers of the imperial throne, say, “What did your cherisher order?” Then they are informed; and so it is handed from one region to another, till the information reaches the people of the lowest. Then the devils steal it, and carry it to their friends the magicians; and the stars are thrown at these devils, and not for the birth or death of any person. Thus the things which the magicians tell, having heard them from the devils, are true; but they add lies of their own, and exaggerate everything they hear.’


The prophet declared, “God has created stars for three uses; one of them as a cause of ornament of the regions; the second, to pelt the devils with; the third, to direct people going through forests and on the sea. Therefore, whoever shall explain them otherwise does wrong, and loses his time, and speaks from his own invention, and embellishes.”

Ibu Abas. “The prophet said, whoever attains to the knowledge of astrology, for any other explanation than the three aforementioned, then verily he has attained to a branch of magic. An astrologer is a magician, and a magician is a *necromancer*, and a necromancer is an infidel!” (Book i. chap. 3; book xxi. chap. 3. *Mishcatol Masabeh*, or the Camp of the Companions of the Prophet.) This work contains the precepts and sayings of Mahomed, as declared by his companions, who themselves heard them; or by

* In Sparta, the Euphori, once every nine years, watched the sky during a whole cloudless, moonless night, in profound silence; and if they saw a shooting star, it was understood to indicate that the kings of Sparta had disobeyed the gods, and their authority was in consequence suspended till they had been purified by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia.

those who heard them immediately from those companions; and they are considered to be binding upon the faith and conduct of Mussulmans, though not all delivered from inspiration. Everything that is written in the Koran itself, is supposed to have been brought direct from God by the angel Gabriel.*

* But the prying character of these devils is described in the Koran itself. According to Mahomedans they had access to all the seven heavens, till the time of Moses, who got them excluded from three; Christ got them excluded from three more; and Mahomed managed to get them excluded from the seventh and last! "We have placed the twelve signs in the heavens, and have set them out in various figures for the observation of spectators, and we guard them from every devil driven away with stones; except him who listeneth by stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted."—Chap. xv. "We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of stars, and we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, that they may not listen to the discourse of exalted princes, for they are darted at from every side, to repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them; except him who catcheth a word by stealth, and is pursued by a shining flame."—Chap. xxvii.



CHAPTER VI.



HINDOO MARRIAGES.

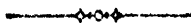
CERTAIN it is that no Hindoo will have a marriage in his family during the four months of the rainy season ; for among eighty millions of souls, not one doubts that the Great Preserver of the universe is, during these four months, down on a visit to Raja Bull, and, consequently, unable to bless the contract with his presence. Marriage is a sacred duty among Hindoos, a duty which every parent must perform for his children, otherwise they owe him no reverence. A family, with a daughter unmarried after the age of puberty, is considered to labour under the displeasure of the gods ; and no member of the other sex considers himself *respectable*, after the age of puberty, till he is married. It is the duty of his parent or elder brothers to have him suitably married ; and if they do not do so, reproaches them with his *degraded condition*. The same feeling, in a degree, pervades all the Mahomedan community ; and nothing appears so strange to them as the apparent indifference of old bachelors among us to their *bad condition* ! Marriage, with all its ceremonies, its rights and its duties, fills their imagination from infancy to age ; and I do not believe there is a country upon earth in which a larger portion of the wealth of the community is spent in the ceremonies, or where the rights are better secured, or the duties better enforced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of the laws of polygamy. Not one man in ten can afford to maintain more than one wife, and not one in ten of those who can afford it will venture “ *upon a sea of troubles,*” in taking a second, if he has a child by

the first. One of the evils which press most upon Indian society, is the necessity which long usage has established of squandering large sums in marriage ceremonies. Instead of giving what they can to their children to establish them, and enable them to provide for their families, and rise in the world, parents everywhere feel bound to squander all they can borrow, in the festivities of their marriage. Men in India could never feel secure of being permitted freely to enjoy their property under despotic and unsettled governments, the only kind of governments they knew or hoped for ; and much of the means, that would otherwise have been laid out in forming substantial works, with a view to a return in income of some sort or another, for the remainder of their own lives, and for those of their children, were expended in tombs, temples, suraes, tanks, groves, and other works, useful and ornamental, no doubt, but from which neither they nor their children could ever hope to derive income of any kind. The same feeling of insecurity gave birth, no doubt, to this preposterous usage, which tends so much to keep down the great mass of the people of India to that grade in which they were born, and in which they have nothing but their manual labour to depend upon for their subsistence. Every man feels himself bound to waste all his stock and capital, and exhaust all his credit, in feeding idlers during the ceremonies which attend the marriage of his children, because his ancestors squandered similar sums, and he would sink in the estimation of society if he were to allow his children to be married with less.

But it could not have been solely because men could not invest their means in profitable works, with any chance of being long permitted to enjoy the profits under such despotic and unsettled governments, that they squandered them in feeding idle people in marriage ceremonies ; since temples, tanks, and groves secured esteem in this life, and promised some advantage in the next, and so putlay in such works might therefore have

been preferred. But under such governments a man's title even to the exclusive possession of his wife, might not be considered as altogether secure under the mere sanction of religion; and the outlay in feeding the family, tribe, and neighbourhood, during the marriage ceremony, seems to have been considered as a kind of *value in exchange* given for her to society. There is nothing that she and her husband recollect through life with so much pride and pleasure as the cost of their marriage, if it happen to be large for their condition in life—it is their *Amoku*, their title of nobility; and their parents consider it their duty to make it as large as they can. A man would hardly feel secure of the sympathy of his family, tribe, circle of society, or rulers, for the loss of “his ox, or his ass, or anything that is his,” if it should happen to have cost him nothing; and till he could feel secure of their sympathy for the loss, he would not feel very secure in the possession. He, therefore, or those who are interested in his welfare, strengthen his security by an outlay which invests his wife with a *tangible value in cost*, well understood by his circle and rulers. His family, tribe, and circle, have received the purchase money, and feel bound to secure to him the *commodity* purchased; and as they are in all such matters commonly much stronger than the rulers themselves, the money spent among them is more efficacious in securing the exclusive enjoyment of the wife, than if it had been paid in taxes or fees to them for a marriage licence. The pride of families and tribes, and the desire of the multitude to participate in the enjoyment of such ceremonies, tend to keep up this usage after the cause in which it originated may have ceased to operate; but it will, it is to be hoped, gradually decline with the increased feeling of security to person, property, and character, under our rule. Nothing is now more common than to see an individual in the humblest rank spending all that he has, or can borrow, in the marriage of one of many daughters, and trusting to Providence for the means of marriage

the others ; nor in the higher, to find a young man, whose estates have, during a long minority, under the careful management of government officers, been freed from very heavy debts, with which an improvident father had left them encumbered, the moment he attains his majority, and enters upon the management, borrowing three times their annual rent, at an exorbitant interest, to marry a couple of sisters, at the same rate of outlay, in feasts and fire-works, that his grandmother was married with.



CHAPTER VII.

THE PURVEYANCE SYSTEM.

WE left Jubbulpore on the morning of 20th November, 1835, and came on ten miles to Bughoree. Several of our friends of the 29th native infantry accompanied us this first stage, where they had a good day's shooting. In 1830, I established here some renders in wood, to save the people from the miseries of the purveyance system; but I now found that a native collector, soon after I had resigned the civil charge of the district and gone to Saugor, in order to ingratiate himself with the officers, and get from them favourable testimonials, gave two regiments, as they marched over this road, free permission to help themselves gratis out of the store-rooms of these poor men, whom I had set up with a loan from the public treasury, declaring that it must be the wish and intention of government to supply their public officers free of cost; and consequently that no excuses could be attended to. From that time shops and shopkeepers have disappeared. Wood for all public officers and establishments passing this road has, ever since, as in former times, been collected from the surrounding villages gratis, under the *purveyance* system, in which all native public officers delight; and which I am afraid is encouraged by European officers, either from their ignorance or their indolence. They do not like the trouble of seeing the men paid either for their wood or their labour; and their head servants of the kitchen or the wardrobe vary and worry them out of their best resolutions on the subject. They make the poor men sit aloof

by telling them, that their master is a tiger before breakfast, and will eat them if they approach: and they tell their masters, that there is no getting the poor men to come for their money till they have bathed or taken their breakfast. The latter wait in hopes that the gentleman will come out or send for them as soon as he has been *tamed* by his breakfast; but this meal has put him in good humour with all the world, and he is now no longer unwilling to trust the payment of the poor men to his butler, or his valet de chambre. They keep the poor wretches waiting, declaring that they have as yet received no orders to pay them, till, hungry and weary, in the afternoon they all walk back to their homes in utter despair of getting anything. If, in the mean time, the gentleman comes out and finds the men, his servants pacify him by declaring, either that they have not yet had time to carry his orders into effect—that they could not get copper change for silver rupees—or that they were anxious to collect all the people together before they paid any, lest they might pay some of them twice over. It is seldom, however, that he comes among them at all; he takes it for granted that the people have all been paid; and passes the charge in the account of his servants, who all get what these porters ought to have received. Or, perhaps the gentleman may persuade himself, that if he pays his valet or butler, these functionaries will never pay the poor men; and think that he had better sit quite and keep the money in his own pocket. The native police or revenue officer is directed by his superior to have wood collected for the camp of a regiment or great civil officers—and he sends out his myrmidons to employ the people abroad in felling trees, and cutting up wood enough to supply not only the camp, but his own cook-rooms and those of his friends for the next six months. The men so employed commonly get nothing; but the native officer receives credit for all manner of superlatively good qualities, which are enumerated in a certificate. Many a fine tree, dear to the affections of families

and village communities, has been cut down in spite, or redeemed from the axe by a handsome present to this officer or to his myrmidons. Lambs, kids, fowls, milk, vegetables, all come flowing in for the great man's table from poor people, who are too hopeless to seek for payment, or who are represented as too proud and wealthy to receive it. Such always have been and such always will be some of the evils of the purveyance system. If a police officer receives an order from the magistrate to provide a regiment, detachment, or individual with boats, carts, bullocks, or porters, he has all that can be found within his jurisdiction forthwith seized—releases all those whose proprietors are able and willing to pay what he demands, and furnishes the rest, which are generally the worst, to the persons who require them. Police officers derive so much profit from these applications, that they are always anxious they should be made; and will privately defeat all attempts of private individuals to provide themselves, by dissuading or intimidating the proprietors of vehicles from voluntarily furnishing them. The gentleman's servant who is sent to procure them, returns and tells his master, that there are plenty of vehicles, but that their proprietors dare not send them without orders from the police; and that the police tell him they dare not give such orders without the special sanction of the magistrate. The magistrate is written to; but declares that his police have been prohibited from interfering in such matters without special orders, since the proprietors ought to be permitted to send their vehicles to whom they choose, except on occasions of great public emergency; and as the present cannot be considered as one of these occasions, he does not feel authorized to issue such orders. On the Ganges, many men have made large fortunes by pretending a general authority to seize boats for the use of the commissariat or for other government purposes, on the ground of having been once or twice employed on that duty; and what they get is but a very small portion of that which the public lose. One of

these self-constituted functionaries has a boat seized on its way down or up the river; and the crew, who are merely hired for the occasion, and have a month's wages in advance, seeing no prospect of getting soon out of the hands of this pretended government servant, desert, and leave the boat on the sands; while the owner, if he ever learn the real state of the case, thinks it better to put up with his loss than to seek redress through expensive courts, and distant local authorities. If the boat happens to be loaded and to have a supercargo who will not or cannot bribe high enough, he is abandoned on the sands by his crew; in his search for aid from the neighbourhood, his helplessness becomes known—he is perhaps murdered, or runs away in the apprehension of being so—the boat is plundered and made a wreck: still the dread of the delays and costs of our courts, and the utter hopelessness of ever recovering the lost property, prevent the proprietors from seeking redress, and our government authorities know nothing of the circumstances.

We remained at Bughooree the 21st, to enable our people to prepare for the long march they had before them; and to see a little more of our Jubbulpore friends, who were to have another day's shooting, as black partridges and quail had been found abundant in the neighbourhood of our camp.



CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS SECTS—SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE CASTES—CHIMNEY-
SWEEPERS—WASHERWOMEN—ELEPHANT-DRIVERS-

MEER SULAMUT ALI, the head native collector of the district, a venerable old Mussulman, and most valuable public servant, who has been labouring in the same vineyard with me for the last fifteen years with great zeal, ability, and integrity, came to visit me after breakfast with his two very pretty and interesting young sons. While we were sitting together, my wife's under-woman said to some one who was talking with her outside the tent door, "If that were really the case, should I not be degraded?" "You see, Meer-Sahib," said I, "that the very lowest members of society among these Hindoos still feel the pride of caste, and dread exclusion from their own, however low."

"Yes," said the Meer, "they are very strange kind of people and I question whether they ever had a *real prophet* among them."

"I question, Meer Sahib, whether they really ever had such a person. They of course think the incarnation of their three great deities were beings infinitely superior to prophets, being in all their attributes and prerogatives equal to the divinities themselves. But we are disposed to think, that these incarnations were nothing more than great men whom their flatterers and poets have exalted into gods—this was the way in which men made their gods in ancient Greece and Egypt. These great men were generally conquerors, whose glory consisted in the destruction of their fellow creatures; and this is the glory which their

flatterers are most prone to extol. All that the poets have said of the actions of men is now received as revelation from heaven ; though nothing can be more monstrous than the actions attributed to the best incarnation, Krishna, of the best of their Gods, Vishnool.

"No doubt," said Sulamut Ali ; "and had they ever a *real prophet* among them he would have revealed better things to them : strange people ! when their women go on pilgrimages to Gaya, they have their heads shaved before the image of their god ; and the offering of the hair is equivalent to the offer of *their heads* ; for heads, *think God*, they dare no longer offer within the Company's territories !"

"Do you, Meer Sahib, think that they continue to offer up human sacrifices anywhere ?"

"Certainly I do. There is a Rajah at Ruttunpore, or somewhere between Mundlah and Sumbhulpore, who has a man offered up to Devy every year ; and that man must be a Brahman. If he can get a Brahman traveller, well and good ; if not, he and his priests offer one of his own subjects. Every Brahman that has to pass through this territory goes in disguise. With what energy did our emperor Ourungzebe apply himself to put down iniquities like this in the Rajpootana states—but all in vain ! If a Rajah died, all his numerous wives burnt themselves with his body—even their servants, male and female, were obliged to do the same ; for, said his friends, what is he to do in the next world without attendants ? The pile was enormous : on the top sat the queen with the body of the prince ; the servants, male and female, according to their degree, below ; and a large army stood all round to drive into the fire again or kill all who should attempt to escape !"

"This is all very true, Meer Sahib, but you must admit that though there is a great deal of absurdity in their customs and opinions, there is, on the other hand much that we might all

take an example from. The Hindoo believes that Christians and Mussulmans may be as good men in all relations of life as himself, and in as fair a way to heaven as he is ; for he believes, that my Bible and your Koran are as much revelations framed, by the Deity for our guidance, as the Shastres are for his. He doubts not that our Christ was the Son of God ; nor that Mahomed was the prophet of God ; and all that he asks from us is, to allow him freely to believe in his own gods, and to worship in his own way. Nor does one caste or one sect of Hindoos ever believe itself to be alone in the right way, or detest any other for not following in the same path, as they have as much of toleration for each other as they have for us.*

“ True,” exclaimed Sulamut Ali, “ too true ! we have ruined each other : we have cut each other’s throats : we have lost the empire, and we deserve to lose it. You won it, and you preserved it by your *union*—ten men with one heart are equal to a hundred men with different hearts. A Hindoo may feel himself authorised to take in a Mussulman, and might even think it *meritorious* to do so ; but he would never think it meritorious to take in one of his own religion. There are no less than seventy-two sects of Mahomedans ; and every one of these sects would not only take in the followers of every other religion on earth, but every member of every one of the other seventy-one sects ; and the nearer that sect is to its own, the greater the merit in taking in its members ?”*

“ Something has happened of late to annoy you I fear, Meer Sahib ?”

* Meer Sulamut Ali is a staunch Soonnee, the sect of Osman ; and they are always at daggers drawn with the Sheeas, or the sect of Ali. He alludes to the Sheeas when he says that one of the seventy-two sects is always ready to take in the whole of the other seventy-one. Mahomed, according to the traditions, was one day heard to say. “ The time will come when my followers will be divided into seventy-three sects—all of them will assuredly go to hell

"Something happens to annoy us every day, sir, where we are more than one sect of us together; and wherever you find Mus-sulmans you will find them divided into sects."

It is not perhaps known to many of my countrymen in India, that in every city and town in the country the right of sweeping the houses and streets is one of the most intolerable of monopolies, supported entirely by the *pride of caste* among the scavengers, who are all of the lowest class! The right of sweeping within a certain range is recognized by the caste to belong to a certain member; and if any other member presumes to sweep within that range, he is *excommunicated*—no other member will smoke out of his *pipe*, or drink out of his jug; and he can get restored to caste only by a feast to the whole body of sweepers. If any house-keeper within a particular circle happens to offend the sweeper of that range, none of his filth will be removed till he pacifies him, because no other sweeper will dare to touch it; and the people of a town are often more *tyrannized* over by these people than by any other. It is worthy of remark, that in India the spirit of combination is always in the inverse ratio to the rank of the class—weakest in the highest, and strongest in the lowest class. All infringements upon the rules of the class are punished by fines. Every fine furnishes

save one." Every one of the seventy-three sects believes itself to be the one happily excepted by their prophet, and predestined to paradise. I am sometimes disposed to think Mahomed was self-deluded, however difficult it might be to account for so much "method in his madness." It is difficult to conceive a man placed in such circumstances with more amiable dispositions or with juster views of the rights and duties of men in all their relations with each other, than are exhibited by him on almost all occasions, save where the question of *faith* in his divine mission was concerned. . . .

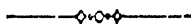
A very interesting and useful book might be made out of the history of these men, more or less mad, by whom multitudes of mankind have been led and perhaps governed; and a philosophical analysis of the points on which they were really mad and really sane, would show many of them to have been fit subjects for a madhouse during the whole career of their glory!

a feast at which every member sits, and enjoys himself. Payment is enforced by excommunication—no one of the caste will eat, drink, or smoke with the convicted till the fine is paid; and as every one shares in the fine, every one does his best to enforce payment. The fines are imposed by the elders who know the circumstances of the culprit, and fix the amount accordingly. Washermen will often at a large station combine to prevent the washerman of one gentleman from washing the clothes of the servants of any other gentleman, or the servants of one gentleman from getting their clothes washed by any other person than their own master's washerman. This enables them sometimes to raise the rate of washing to double the fair or ordinary rate; and at such places the washermen are always drunk with one continued routine of feasts from the fines levied. The cost of these fees falls ultimately upon the poor servants or their masters. This combination, however, is not always for bad or selfish purposes. I was once on the staff of an officer commanding a brigade on service, whose elephant-driver exercised an influence over him that was often mischievous and sometimes dangerous; for in marching and choosing his ground, this man was more often consulted than the quarter-master general. His bearing was most insolent, and became intolerable as well to the European gentlemen as to the people of his caste. He at last committed himself by saying that he would spit in the face of another gentleman's elephant-driver with whom he was disputing. All the elephant-drivers in our large camp were immediately assembled, and it was determined in council to refer the matter to the decision of the Rajah of Dhurbunga's driver, who was acknowledged the head of the class. We were all breakfasting with the brigadier after muster when the reply came—the distance to Dhurbunga from Nithpore on the Koosce river, where we then were, must have been a hundred and fifty miles. We saw men running in all directions through the camp, without knowing why; till at last one came and summoned

the brigadier's driver. With a face of terror he came and implored the protection of the brigadier; who got angry, and fumed a good deal, but seeing no expression of sympathy in the faces of his officers, he told the man to go and hear his sentence. He was escorted to a circle formed by all the drivers in camp, who were seated on the grass. The offender was taken into the middle of the circle and commanded to stand on one leg while the Rajah's driver's letter was read. He did so, and the letter directed him to apologise to the offended party, pay a heavy fine for a feast, and pledge himself to the assembled drivers never to offend again. All the officers in camp were delighted, and some who went to hear the sentence explained declared, that in no court in the world could the thing have been done with more solemnity and effect. The man's character was quite altered by it, and he became the most docile of drivers. On the same principle here stated, of enlisting the community in the punishment of offenders, the New Zealanders, and other savage tribes who have been fond of human flesh, have generally been found to confine the feast to the body of those who were put to death for offences against the state or the individual. I and all the officers of my regiment were at one time in the habit of making every servant who required punishment or admonition to bring immediately, and give to the first religious mendicant we could pick up, the fine we thought just. All the religionists in the neighbourhood declared, that justice had never been so well administered in any other regiment; no servant got any sympathy from them—they were all told that their masters were far too lenient!

We crossed the Herun river about ten miles from our last ground on the 22nd, and came on two miles to our tents in a mango grove close to the town of Kuttungee, and under the Vindhya range of sandstone hills, which rises almost perpendicular to the height of some eight hundred feet over the town. This range from Kuttungee skirts the Nerbudda valley to the north,

as the Sathpore range skirts it to the south ; and both are of the same sand-stone formation capped with basalt, upon which here and there is found masses of laterite, or iron clay. Nothing has ever yet been found reposing upon this iron clay. The strata of this range have a gentle and almost imperceptible dip to the north, at right angles to its face which overlooks the valley, and this face has everywhere the appearance of a range of gigantic round bastions projecting into what was perhaps a lake, and is now a well-peopled, well-cultivated, and very happy valley, about twenty miles wide. The river crosses and recrosses it diagonally. Near Jubbulpore it flows along for some distance close under the Sathpore range to the south ; and crossing over the valley from Bera-ghat it reaches the Vindhya range to the north, at the point where it receives the Herun river, forty miles below.



CHAPTER IX.



THE GREAT ICONOCLAST—TROOPS ROUTED BY HORNETS—THE RANGE
OF GURHA—HORNETS' NESTS IN INDIA.

On the 23rd we came on nine miles to Singrampore, and on the 24th nine more to the valley of Jubeyrah, situated on the western extremity of the bed of a large lake which is now covered by twenty-four villages. The waters were kept in by a large wall that united two hills about four miles south of Jubeyrah. This wall was built of great cut freestone blocks from the two hills of the Vindhya range, which it united. It was about half a mile long, one hundred feet broad at the base, and about one hundred feet high. The stones, though cut, were never, apparently, cemented; and the wall has long given way in the centre, through which now flows a small stream that passes from east to west of what was once the bottom of the lake, and now is the site of so many industrious and happy little village communities. The proprietor of the village of Jubeyrah, in whose mango grove our tents were pitched, conducted me to the ruins of the wall; and told me that it had been broken down by the order of the Emperor *Ourangzebe*. History to these people is all a fairy tale; and this emperor is the great destroyer of everything that the Mahomedans in their fanaticism have demolished of the Hindoo sculpture or architecture; and yet, singular as it may appear, they never mention his name with any feelings of indignation or hatred. With every scene of his supposed outrage against their gods or their temples, there is always associated the recollection of some instance of his piety, and the Hindoo's glory!—of some idol, for instance, or column, pre-

served from his fury by a *miracle*, whose divine origin he is supposed at once to have recognized with all due reverence. At Beragur, the high priest of the temple told us, that Ourungzebe and his soldiers knocked off the heads, arms, and noses of all the idols saying, "that if they had really any of the godhead in them, they would assuredly now show it, and save themselves." But when they came to the door of Gouree Sunkur's apartments, they were attacked by a nest of hornets, that put the whole of the emperor's army to the route ; and his imperial majesty called out, "Here we have really something like a god, and we shall not suffer him to be molested : if all your gods could give us proof like this of their divinity, not a nose of them would ever be touched !"

The popular belief, however, is that after Ourungzebe's army had struck off all the prominent features of the other gods, one of the soldiers entered the temple, and struck off the ear of one of the prostrate images underneath their vehicle, the Bull. "My dear," said Gouree, "do you see what these saucy men are about ?" Her consort turned round his head; and seeing the soldiers around him, brought all the hornets up from among the marble rocks below, where there are still so many nests of them, and the whole army fled before them to Teoree, five miles. It is very likely that some body of troops by whom the rest of the images had been mutilated, may have been driven off by a nest of hornets from within the temple where this statue stands. I have seen six companies of infantry, with a train of artillery, and a squadron of horse, all put to the route by a single nest of hornets; and driven off some miles with all their horses and bullocks. The officers generally save themselves, by keeping within their tents, and creeping under their bed-clothes, or their carpets; and servants often escape by covering themselves up in their blankets, and lying perfectly still. Horses are often stung to a state of madness, in which they throw themselves over precipices, and break their limbs, or kill themselves. The grooms, in trying to

save their horses, are generally the people who suffer most in a camp attacked by such an enemy. I have seen some so stung as to recover with difficulty; and I believe there have been instances of the people not recovering at all. In such a frightful scene I have seen a bullock sitting and chewing the cud as calmly as if the whole thing had been got up for his amusement! The hornets seldom touch any animal that remains perfectly still.

On the bank of the Beena river at Eerun, in the Saugor district, is a beautiful pillar of a single freestone of more than fifty feet high, surmounted by a figure of Krishna, with the glory round his head. Some few of the rays of this glory have been struck off by lightning; but the people declare, that this was done by a shot fired at it from a cannon by order of *Ourungzebe*, as his army was marching by on its way to the Deccan. Before the scattered fragments however could reach the ground, the air was filled, they say, by a swarm of hornets, that put the whole army to flight; and the emperor ordered his gunners to desist, declaring "that he was satisfied of the presence of the god!" There is hardly any part of India in which, according to popular belief, similar miracles were not worked to convince the emperor of the peculiar merits or sanctity of particular idols or temples, according to the traditions of the people, derived, of course, from the inventions of priests. I should mention, that these hornets suspend their nests to the branches of the highest trees, under rocks, or in old deserted temples. Native travellers, soldiers, and camp followers, cook and eat their food under such trees; but they always avoid one in which there is a nest of hornets particularly on a still day. Sometimes they do not discover the nest till it is too late. The unlucky wight goes on feeding his fire, and delighting in the prospect of the feast before him, as the smoke ascends in circling eddies to the nest of the hornets. The moment it touches them they sally forth and descend, and sting like mad creatures every living thing they find in motion.'

Three companies of my regiment were escorting treasure in boats from Allahabad to Cawnpore for the army under the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817. The soldiers all took their dinners on shore every day; and one still afternoon a sipahee, by cooking his dinner under one of those nests without seeing it, sent the infuriated swarm among the whole of his comrades, who were cooking in the same grove, and undressed, as they always are on such occasions. Treasure, food, and all were immediately deserted, and the whole of the party, save the European officers, were up to their noses in the river Gauges. The hornets hovered over them; and it was amusing to see them bobbing their heads under as the insects tried to pounce upon them. The officers covered themselves up in the carpets of their boats; and as the day was a hot one, their situation was still more uncomfortable than that of the men. Darkness alone put an end to the conflict.

I should mention that the poor old Ranee, or Queen of Gurha, Suchmee Koor, came out as far as Kuttungee with us to take leave of my wife, to whom she has always been attached. She had been in the habit of spending a day with her at my house once a week; and being the only European lady from whom she had ever received any attention, or indeed ever been on terms of any intimacy with, she feels the more sensible of the little offices of kindness and courtesy she has received from her.* Her husband, Nurbur Saw, was the last of the long line of sixty-two sovereigns, who reigned over these territories from the year A. D. 358 to the Saugor conquest A. D. 1781. He died a prisoner in the fortress of Koorae, in the Saugor district, in A. D. 1789, leaving two widows. One burnt herself upon the funeral pile, and the other was prevented from doing so, merely because she

* After we left Jubbalpore, the old Ranee used to receive kind and considerate attention from the Hon. Mrs. Shore, a very amiable woman, the wife of the Governor-general's representative, the Hon. Mr. Shore, a very worthy and able member of the Bengal civil service.

was thought too young, as she was not then fifteen years of age. She received a small pension from the Saugor government, which was still further reduced under the Nagpore government that succeeded it in the Jubbulpore district in which the pension had been assigned; and it was not thought necessary to increase the amount of this pension when the territory came under our dominion, so that she has had barely enough to subsist upon—about one hundred rupees a month. She is now about sixty years of age, and still a very good-looking woman. In her youth she must have been beautiful. She does not object to appear unveiled before gentlemen, on any particular occasion; and when Lord W. Bentinck was at Jubbulpore in 1833, I introduced the old queen to him. He seemed much interested, and ordered the old lady a pair of shawls. None but very coarse ones were to be found in the store-rooms of the Governor-general's representative, and his lordship said these were not such as a Governor-general could present, or a *queen*, however poor, receive; and as his own toshakhana, (wardrobe) had gone on, he desired that a pair of the finest kind should be purchased and presented to her in his name. The orders were given in her presence and mine. I was obliged to return to Saugor before they could be carried into effect; and when I returned in 1835, I found that the *rejected* shawls had been presented to her, and were such coarse things that she was ashamed to wear them, as much I really believe on account of the exalted person who had given them, as her own. She never mentioned the subject till I asked her to let me see the shawls, which she did reluctantly; and she was too proud to complain. How the good intentions of the Governor-general had been frustrated in this case I have never learned. The native officer in charge of the store was dead, and the Governor-general's representative had left the place. Better could not, I suppose, be got at this time and he did not like to defer giving them.

CHAPTER X.

THE PEASANTRY AND THE LAND SETTLEMENT.

THE officers of the 29th had found game so plentiful, and the weather so fine, that they came on with us as far as Jubeyrah, where we had the pleasure of their society on the evening of the 24th, and left them on the morning of the 25th. A great many of my native friends, from among the native landholders and merchants of the country, flocked to our camp at every stage, to pay their respects, and bid me farewell, for they never expected to see me back among them again. They generally came out a mile or two to meet and escort us to our tents; and much do I fear, that my poor boy will never again, in any part of the world, have the blessings of heaven so fervently invoked upon him by so many worthy and respectable men as met us at every stage, on our way from Jubbulpore. I am much attached to the agricultural classes of India generally, and I have found among them some of the best men I have ever known. The peasantry in India have generally very good manners, and are exceedingly intelligent, from having so much more leisure, and unreserved and easy intercourse with those above them. The constant habit of meeting and discussing subjects connected with their own interests, in their own fields and "under their own fig-trees," with their landlords and government functionaries of all kinds and degrees, prevents their ever feeling or appearing impudent or obtrusive; though it certainly tends to give them stentorian voices, that often startle us when they come into our houses to discuss the same points with us.

Nine-tenth, of the immediate cultivators of the soil in India are little farmers, who hold a lease for one or more years, as the case may be, of their lands, which they cultivate with their own stock. One of these cultivators, with a good plough and bullocks, and a good character, can always get good lands on moderate terms from holders of villages. These cultivators are, I think, the best who learn to depend upon their stock and character for favourable terms, hold themselves free to change their holdings when their leases expire, and pretend not to any hereditary right of property in the soil. The lands are, I think, best cultivated and the society best constituted in India, where the holders of *estates of villages* have a feeling of permanent interest in them, an assurance of an hereditary right of property which is liable only to the payment of a moderate government demand, descends undivided by the law of primogeniture, and is unaffected by the common law, which prescribes the equal subdivision among children of landed as well as other private property, among the Hindoos and Mahomedans; and where the immediate cultivators hold the lands they till by no other law than that of common specific contract.

When I speak of holders of villages, I mean the holders of lands that belong to villages. The whole face of India is parcelled out into estates of villages. The village communities are composed of those who hold and cultivate the land, the established village servants, priest, blacksmith, carpenter, accountant, washerman, basket-maker, (whose wife is *ex officio* the midwife of the little village community,) potter, watchman, barber, shoemaker, &c. &c.* To these may be added the little banker, or agricultural capitalist, the shopkeeper, the brazier, the confectioner, the iron-monger, the weaver, the dyer, the astronomer, or astrologer, who

* In some parts of Central and Southern India, the Garpugree, who charms away hail-storms from the crops, and the Bhoomka, who charms away tigers from the people and their cattle, are added to the number of village servants.

points out to the people the lucky day for every earthly undertaking, and the prescribed times for all religious ceremonies and observances. In some villages the whole of the lands are parcelled out among cultivating proprietors, and are liable to eternal subdivision by the law of inheritance, which gives to each son the same share. In others, the whole of the lands are parcelled out among cultivators, who hold them on a specific lease for limited periods, from a proprietor who holds the whole collectively under government, at a rate of rent fixed either permanently or for limited periods. These are the two extremes. There are but few villages in which all the cultivators are considered as proprietors, at least but few in our Nerbudda territories; and these will almost invariably be found of a caste of Brahmans or a caste of Rajpoots, descended from a common ancestor, to whom the estate was originally given in rent-free tenure, or at a quit rent, by the existing government for his prayers as a priest, or his services as a soldier. Subsequent governments, which resumed unceremoniously the estates of others, were deterred from resuming these by a dread of the curses of the one and the swords of the other.* Such communities of cultivating proprietors are of two kinds, those among whom the lands are parcelled out, each member holding his share as a distinct estate, and being individually responsible for the share of the government demand assessed upon it; and those among whom the lands are not parcelled out, but the profits divided as among copartners of an estate held jointly. They, in either case, nominate one of their members to collect and pay the government demand; or government appoints a man for this duty, either as a salaried

* Very often the government of the country know nothing of these tenures; the local authorities allowed them to continue as a perquisite of their own. The holders were willing to pay them a good share of the rent, assured that they would be resumed if reported by the local authorities to the government. These authorities consented to take a moderate share of the rent, assured that they should get little or nothing if the lands were resumed.

servant, or as a lessee, with authority to levy from the cultivating proprietors a certain sum over and above what is demandable from him.

The communities in which the cultivators are considered merely as lease-holders, are far more numerous—indeed the greater part of the village communities in this part of India are of this description; and where the communities are of a mixed character, the cultivating proprietors are considered to have merely a right of occupancy, and are liable to have their lands assessed at the same rate as those held on a mere lease tenure. In all parts of India the cultivating proprietors, in such mixed communities, are similarly situated—they are liable to be assessed at the same rate as others holding the same sort of lands; and often pay a higher rate, with which others are not encumbered. But this is not general: it is as much the interest of the proprietor to have good cultivating tenants, as it is that of the tenants to have good proprietors; and it is felt to be the interest of both to adjust their terms amicably among themselves, without a reference to a third and superior party, which is always costly and commonly ruinous.

It is a question of very great importance, no less *morally* and *politically* than *fiscally*, which of these systems deserves most encouragement—that in which the government considers the immediate cultivators to be the hereditary proprietors, and, through its own public officers, parcels out the lands among them, and adjusts the rates of rent demandable from every minute partition as the lands become more and more subdivided by the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of inheritance; or that in which the government considers him who holds the area of a whole village or estate collectively as the hereditary proprietor, and the immediate cultivators as his lease-tenants—leaving the rates of rent to be adjusted among the parties without the aid of public officers, or interposing only to enforce the fulfilment of their mutual contracts.

In the latter of these two systems the lands will supply more and better members to the middle and higher classes of the society, and create and preserve a better feeling between them and the peasantry, or immediate cultivators of the soil; and it will occasion the reinvestment upon the soil, in works of ornament and utility, of a greater portion of the annual returns of rent and profit, and a less expenditure in the costs of litigation in our civil courts, and bribery to our public officers.

Those who advocate the other system, which makes the immediate cultivators the proprietors, will, for the most part, be found to reason upon false premises—upon the assumption that the rates of rent demandable from the immediate cultivators of the soil *were everywhere limited and established by immemorial usage, in a certain sum of money per acre, or a certain share of the crop produced from it*; and “that these rates were not only so limited and fixed, but everywhere *well known to the people*,” and might consequently have become well known to the government, and recorded in public registers. Now every practical man in India, who has had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with the matter, knows, that *the reverse is the case*; that the rate of rent demandable from these cultivators *never was the same upon any two estates at the same time; nor ever the same upon any one estate at different times, or for any consecutive number of years*. The rates vary every year on every estate, according to the varying circumstances that influence them—such as greater or less exhaustion of the soil—greater or less facilities of irrigation, manure, transit to market, drainage—or from fortuitous advantages on one hand, or calamities of season on the other; or many other circumstances which affect the value of the land, and the abilities of the cultivators to pay. It is not so much the proprietor of the estate, or the government, as the cultivators themselves who demand every year a readjustment of the rate demandable upon their different holdings. This readjustment must take place;

and if there is no landlord to effect it, government must effect it through its own officers. Every holding becomes subdivided when the cultivating proprietor dies, and leaves more than one child; and as the whole face of the country is open and without hedges, the division is easily and speedily made. Thus the field map which represents an estate one year will never represent it fairly five years after: in fact, we might almost as well attempt to map the waves of the ocean, as field-map the face of any considerable area in any part of India.

If there be any truth in my conclusions, our government has acted unwisely in going, as it has generally done, into the two extremes, in its settlement of the land revenue. In the Zemindaree settlement of Bengal, it conferred the hereditary right of property over areas larger than English counties on individuals, and left the immediate cultivators mere tenants at will. These individuals felt no interest in promoting the comfort and welfare of the village communities, or conciliating the affections of the cultivators, whom they never saw or wished to see; and they let out the village, or other subdivision of their estates to second parties quite as little interested, who again let them out to others, so that the system of rack renting went on over the whole area of the immense possession. This was a system "more honoured in the breach than the observance;" for as the great landholders became involved in the ruin of their cultivators, their estates were sold for arrears of revenue due to government, and thus the proprietary right of one individual has become divided among many, who will have the feelings which the larger holders wanted, and so remedy the evil. In the other extreme, government has constituted the immediate cultivators the proprietors; thereby preventing any one who is supported upon the rent of land, or the profits of agricultural stock, from rising above the grade of a peasant, and so depriving society of one of its best and most essential elements. The remedy of both

is in village settlements, in which the estate shall be of moderate size, and the hereditary property of the holder, descending on the principle of a principality, by the right of primogeniture unaffected by the common law. This is the system which has been adopted in the Nerbudda territory, and which I trust will be always adhered to.

When we enter upon the government of any new territorial acquisition in India, we do not require or pretend to change the civil laws of the people ; because their civil laws and their religion are in reality one and the same, and are contained in one and the same code, as certainly among the Hindoos, the Mahomedans, and the Parsees, as they were among the Israelites. By these codes, and by the established usages everywhere well understood by the people, are their rights and duties in marriage, inheritance, succession, caste, contract, and all the other civil relations of life, ascertained ; and when we displace another government we do not pretend to alter such rights and duties in relation to each other, we merely change the machinery and mode of procedure, by which these rights are secured and these duties enforced. Of criminal law no system was ever either regularly established or administered in any state in India, by any government to which we have succeeded ; and the people always consider the existing government free to adopt that which may seem best calculated to effect the one great object, which criminal law has everywhere in view—the *security of life, property and character, and the enjoyment of all their advantages*. The actions by which these are affected and endangered, the evidence by which such actions require to be proved and the penalties with which they require to be visited, in order to prevent their recurrence, are, or ought to be, so much the same in every society, that the people never think us bound to search for what Mahomed and his companions thought in the wilds of Arabia, or the Sanscrit poets sung about them in courts and cloisters. They would be just as well pleased everywhere to find us searching for these

things in the writings of Confucius and Zoroaster, as in those of Mahomed and Menu; and much more so, to see us consulting our own common sense, and forming a penal code of our own, suitable to the wants of such a mixed community.

The fiscal laws which define the rights and duties of the landed interests and the agricultural classes in relation to each other and to the ruling powers, were also everywhere exceedingly simple and well understood by the people. What in England is now a mere fiction of law, is still in India an essential principle. All lands are held directly or indirectly of the sovereign: to this rule there is no exception. The reigning sovereign is essentially the proprietor of the whole of the lands in every part of India, where he has not voluntarily alienated them; and he holds these lands for the payment of those public establishments which are maintained for the public good, and are supported by the rents of the lands either directly under assignment, or indirectly, through the sovereign proprietor. When a Mahomedan or Hindoo sovereign assigned lands, rent free in *perpetuity*, it was always understood, both by the donor and receiver, to be with the *small reservation* of a right in his successor to resume them for the public good, if he should think fit.* Hindoo sovereigns, or their priests

* Ameer Khan, the Nawab of Tonk, assigned to his physician, who had cured him of an intermittent fever, lands yielding one thousand rupees a-year, in rent-free tenure, and gave him a deed signed by himself and the heir apparent declaring expressly, that it should descend to him and his heirs for ever. He died lately, and his son and successor, who had signed the deed, resumed the estate without ceremony. On being remonstrated with, he said, "that his father while living was of course master, and could make him sign what he pleased, and give land rent-free to whom he pleased; but his successor must now be considered the best judge, whether they could be spared or not; that if lands were to be alienated in perpetuity by every reigning Nawab, for every dose of medicine, or dose of prayers, that he or the members of his family required, none would soon be left for the payment of the soldiers, or other necessary public servants of any description." This was told me by the son of the old physician, who was the person to whom the speech was made, his father having died before Ameer Khan.

for them, often tried to bar this right, by *invoking curses* on the head of that successor who should exercise it. It is a proverb among the people of these territories, and I believe among the people of India generally, that the lands which pay no rent to government have no *Burkut*, blessing from above—that the man who holds them is not blessed in their returns like the man who pays rent to government, and thereby contributes his aid to the protection of the community. The fact is, that every family that holds rent-free lands, must, in a few generations, become miserable, from the minute subdivision of the property, and the litigation in our civil courts which it entails upon the holders. It is certainly the general opinion of the people of India, that no land should be held without paying rent to government, or providing for people employed in the service of government, for the benefit of the people in its defensive, religious, judicial, educational and other establishments. Nine-tenths of the land in these Nerbudda territories are held in lease immediately under government by the heads of villages, whose leases have been renewable every five years; but they are now to have a settlement for twenty. The other tenth is held by these heads of villages intermediately under some chief, who holds several portions of land immediately under government at a quit rent, or for service performed, or to be performed, for government, and lets them out to farmers. These are for the most part situated in the more hilly and less cultivated parts.



CHAPTER XI.



WITCHCRAFT.

On leaving Jubeyrah, I saw an old acquaintance from the eastern part of the Jubbulpore district, Kehree Singh.

"I understand, Kehree Sing," said I, "that certain men among the Gonds of the Jungle, towards the source of the Nurbudda, eat human flesh. Is it so?"

"No, sir, the men never eat people, but the Gond women do."

"Where?"

"Everywhere, sir; there is not a parish—nay, a village, among the Gonds, in which you will not find one or more such women."

"And how do they eat people?"

"They eat their livers, sir."

"O! I understand; you mean witches?"

"Of course! Who ever heard of other people eating human beings?"

"And you really still think, in spite of all that we have done and said, that there are such things as witches?"

"Of course we do—do not we find instances of it every day? European gentlemen are too apt to believe that things like this are not to be found here, because they are not to be found in their own country. Major Wardlow, when in charge of the Seonee district, denied the existence of witchcraft for a long time; but he was at last convinced."

"How?"

"One of his troopers one morning, after a long march, took some milk for his master's breakfast from an old woman without paying for it. Before the major had got over his breakfast, the poor trooper was down upon his back, screaming from the agony of internal pains. We all knew immediately that he had been bewitched; and recommended the Major to send for some one learned in these matters to find out the witch. He did so; and after hearing from the trooper the story about the milk, this person at once declared that the woman from whom he got it was the criminal. She was searched for, found, and brought to the trooper, and commanded to cure him. She flatly denied that she had herself conjured him; but admitted that her household gods might, unknown to her, have punished him for his wickedness. This, however, would not do. She was commanded to cure the man; and she set about collecting materials for the poojah (worship); and before she could get quite through the ceremonies, all his pains had left him. Had we not been resolute with her, the man must have died before evening, so violent were his torments."

"Did not a similar case occur to Mr. Fraser, at Jubbulpore? How was this?"

"A Chuprassie of his, while he had charge of the Jubbulpore district, was sent out to Mundlah with a message of some kind or other. He took a cock from an old Gond woman, without paying for it; and being hungry after a long journey, ate the whole of it in a curry. He heard the woman mutter something, but being a raw, unsuspecting young man, he thought nothing of it; ate his cock, and went to sleep. He had not been asleep three hours before he was seized with internal pains, and the old cock was actually heard crowing in his belly! He made the best of his way back to Jubbulpore, several stages; and all the most skilful men were employed to charm away the effect of the old woman's spell—but in vain—he died, and the cock never

ceased crowing at intervals up to the hour of his death."

"And was Mr. Fraser convinced?"

"I never heard, but suppose he must have been."

"Who ate the livers of the victims? The witches themselves, or the evil spirits with whom they had dealings?"

"The evil spirits ate the livers, but they are set on to do so by the witches, who get them into their power by such accursed sacrifices and offerings. They will often dig up young children from their graves, bring them to life, and allow these devils to feed upon their livers, as falconers allow their hawks to feed on the breasts of pigeons. You sahib loge (European gentlemen) will not believe all this; but it is, nevertheless, all very true."*

The belief in sorcery among these people owes its origin, in a great measure, to the diseases of the liver and spleen, to which the natives, and particularly the children, are much subject in the jungle parts of central India. From these affections children pine away and die, without showing any external marks of disease. Their death is attributed to witchcraft; and any querulous old woman, who has been in the habit of murmuring at slights and ill-treatment in the neighbourhood, is immediately set down as the cause. Men who practice medicine among them are very commonly supposed to be at the same time wizards. Seeking to inspire confidence in their prescriptions, by repeating prayers and incantations over the patient, or over the medicine they give him, they make him believe, that they derive aid from supernatural power; and the patient concludes that those who can command these powers to *cure*, can, if they will, command them to *destroy*. He and his friends believe, that the man who can command these powers to cure one individual, can command

* Of the supposed powers and dispositions of witches among the Romans we have horrible pictures in the 5th book of the 5th Ode of Horace, and in the 6th book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

them to cure any other; and if he does not do so, they believe that it arises from a desire to destroy the patient. I have, in these territories, known a great many instances of medical practitioners having been put to death for not curing young people, for whom they were required to prescribe. Several cases have come before me as a magistrate, in which the father has stood over the doctor with a drawn sword by the side of the bed of his child, and cut him down and killed him the moment the child died, as he had sworn to do when he found the patient sinking under his prescriptions !

The town of Jubbulpore contains a population of twenty thousand souls, and they all believed in this story of the cock. I one day asked a most respectable merchant in the town, Naudoo Chowdree, how the people could believe in such things ; when he replied that he had no doubt witches were to be found in every part of India, though they abounded most, no doubt, in the central parts of it ; and that we ought to consider ourselves very fortunate in having no such things in *England* ! “ But ” added he, “ of all countries, that between Mundlah and Cuttuck is the worst for witches. I verily believe that every old woman has the power of witchcraft in that quarter. I had once occasion to go to the city of Ruttunpore on business ; and was one day, about noon, walking in the market-place, and eating a very fine piece of sugar cane. In the crowd, I happened, by accident, to jostle an old woman as she passed me. I looked back, intending to apologise for the accident, and heard her muttering indistinctly as she passed on. Knowing the propensities of these old ladies, I became somewhat uneasy ; and, on turning round to my cane, I found, to my great terror, that the juice had been all *turned to blood* ! Not a minute had elapsed : such were the fearful powers of this old woman. I collected my followers, and leaving my agents there to settle my accounts, was beyond the boundaries of the old wretch’s influence before dark : had I remained nothing

could have saved me. I should certainly have been a dead man before morning. It is well known," said the old gentleman, "that their spells and curses can only reach a certain distance, ten or twelve miles; and if you offend one of them, the sooner you place that distance between you the better!"

Jungbaz Khan, the representative of the Shahgur Rajah, as grave and reverend an old gentleman as ever sat in the senate of Venice, told me one day, that he was himself an eye-witness of the powers of the women of Khiloutee. He was with a great concourse of people at a fair, held at the town of Raepore; and while sauntering with many other strangers in the fair, one of them began bargaining with two women of middle age for some very fine sugar-canes. They asked double the fair price for their canes. The man got angry, and took up one of them; when the woman seized the other end, and a struggle ensued. The purchaser offered a fair price, seller demanded double. The crowd looked on, and a good deal of abuse of the female relations on both sides took place. At last a sipahee of the governor came up, armed to the teeth, and called out to the man, in a very imperious tone, to let go his hold of the cane. He refused, saying, "that when people came to the fair to sell, they should be made to sell at reasonable prices, or be turned out." "I," said Jungbaz Khan, "thought the man right, and told the sipahee, that if he took the part of this woman, we should take that of the other, and see fair play. Without further ceremony the functionary drew his sword, and cut the cane in two, in the middle; and pointing to both pieces, 'there,' said he, 'you see the cause of my interference!' We looked down, and actually saw blood running from both pieces, and forming a little pool on the ground. The fact was, that the woman was a sorceress of the very worst kind; and was actually drawing the blood from the man through the cane, to feed the abominable devil from whom she derived her detestable powers. But for the timely inter-

ference of the sipahce, he would have been dead in another minute ; for he no sooner saw the real state of the case than he fainted. He had hardly any blood left in him ; and I was afterwards told that he was not able to walk for ten days. We all went to the governor to demand justice, declaring that unless the women were made an example of at once, the fair would be deserted, for no stranger's life would be safe. He consented, and they were both sown up in sacks and thrown into the river ; but they had conjured the waters and would not sink—they ought to have been put to death, but the governor was himself afraid of this kind of people, and let them off. There is not," continued Jungbaz, "a village, or a single family, without its witch in that part of the country ; in eol no man will give his daughter in marriage to a family without one, saying, 'If my daughter has children, what will become of them, without a witch to protect them from the witches of other families in the neighbourhood ?' It is a fearful country, though the cheapest and most fertile in India."

We can easily understand how a man, impressed with the idea that his blood had all been drawn from him by a sorceress, should become faint, and remain many days in a languid state ; but how the people around should believe that they saw the blood flowing from both parts of the cane, at the place cut through, it is not so easy to conceive. I am satisfied that old Jungbaz believed the whole story to be true ; and that at the time he thought the juice of the cane red ; but the little pool of blood grew, no doubt, by degrees, as years rolled on, and he related this tale of the fearful powers of the Khiloutce witches.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SILVER TREE, OR KULPA BRIKSHA—THE SINGHARA OR TRAPA
BISPINOSA, AND THE GUINEA WORM.

Poor old Salamut Ali wept bitterly at the last meeting in my tent, and his two nice boys, without exactly knowing why, began to do the same ; and my little son Henry caught the infection and wept louder than any of them. I was obliged to hurry over the interview lest I should feel disposed to do the same. The poor old Ramee too suffered a good deal in parting with my wife, whom she says she can never hope to see again. Her fine large eyes shed many a tear as she was getting into her palankeen to return.

Between Jubeyrah and Hurdooa, the next stage, we find a great many of those large forest trees called kullup, or kulpa briksha, (the same which in the paradise of Indra grants what is desired,) with a soft silvery bark, and scarcely any leaves. We are told, that the name of the god *Han*, and his consort *Seta*, will be found written by the hand of God upon all.* I had the curiosity to examine a good many in the forest on both sides of the road ; and found the name of this incarnation of Vishnool written on every one in Sanscrit characters, apparently by some supernatural hand ; that is, there was a softness in the impression, as if the finger of some supernatural being had traced the charac-

* The real kulpa, which now stands in the garden of the god Indra in the first heaven, was one of the fourteen rarities found at the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. It fell to the share of Indra.

ters. Nathoo, one of our belted attendants, told me, "that we might search as deeply as we would in the forest, but we should certainly find the name of God upon every one; "for," said he, "it is God himself who writes it!" I tried to argue him out of this notion; but unfortunately could find no tree without these characters—some high up, and some lower down in the trunk—some large and others small—but still to be found on every tree. I was almost in despair, when we came to a part in the wood where we found one of these trees down in a hollow, under the road, and another upon the precipice above. I was ready to stake my credit upon the probability, that no traveller would take the trouble to go up to the tree above or down to the tree below, merely to write the name of the god upon them; and at once pledged myself to Nathoo, that he should find neither the god's name nor that of his wife. I sent one man up and another down; and they found no letters on the trees; but this did not alter their opinion on the point. "God," said one, "had no doubt put his name on these trees, but they had some how or other got rubbed off. He would in good time renew them, that men's eyes might be blessed with the sight of his holy name even in the deepest forest, and on the most leafless tree,"* "But," said Nathoo, "he might not have thought it worth while to write his name upon those trees which no travellers go to see!" "Cannot you see," said I "that these letters have been engraved by man? Are they not all to be found on the trunk within reach of man's hand?"

* Every Hindoo is thoroughly convinced that the names of Ram and his consort Seta, are written on this tree by the hand of God; and nine-tenths of the Mussulmans believe the same.

"Happy the man who sees a God employed
In all the good and ill that chequer life,
Resolving all events, with their effects
And manifold results, into the will
And arbitration wise of the Supreme.

C WIFE.

"Of course they are," replied he, "because people would not be able conveniently to distinguish them if God were to write them higher up!"

Sheikh Sadee has a very pretty couplet: "Every leaf of the foliage of a green tree is, in the eye of a wise man, a library to teach him the wisdom of his Creator." I may remark that where an Englishman would write his own name, a Hindoo would write that of his god, his parent, or his benefactor. This difference is traceable of course to the difference in their governments and institutions. If a Hindoo built a town, he called it after his local governor; if a local governor built it, he called it after a favourite son of the Emperor. In well-regulated Hindoo families, one cannot ask a younger brother after his children in presence of the elder brother who happens to be the head of the family; it would be disrespectful for him even to speak of his children as his own in such presence—the elder brother relieves his embarrassment by answering for him.

On the 27th we reached Dhumow, where our friends, the Browns, were to leave us on their return to Jubbulpore. Dhumow is a pretty place. The town contains some five or six thousand people, and has some very handsome Hindoo temples. On a hill immediately above it is the shrine of a Mahomedan saint which has a very picturesque appearance. There are no manufactures at Dhumow, except such as supply the wants of the immediate neighbourhood; and the town is supported by the residence of a few merchants, a few laudholders, and agricultural capitalists, and the establishment of a native collector. The people here suffer much from the guinea worm, and consider it to arise from drinking the water of the old tank, which is now very dirty, and filled with weeds. I have no doubt that it is occasioned either by drinking the water of this tank, or wading in it; for I have known European gentlemen get the worm in their legs from wading in similar lakes or swamps after snipes, and the servants who followed them with

their ammunition experience the same effect. Here, as in most other parts of India, the tanks get spoiled by the water chestnut, singhara, (*trapa bispinosa*), which is everywhere as regularly planted and cultivated in fields under a large surface of water, as wheat or barley is on the dry plains. It is cultivated by a class of men called Dheemurs, who are everywhere fishermen and palankeen bearers; and they keep boats for the planting, weeding, and gathering the singhara. The holdings or tenements of each cultivator are marked out carefully on the surface of the water by long bamboos stuck up in it; and they pay so much the acre for the portion they till. The long straws of the plants reach up to the surface of the waters, upon which float their green leaves; and their pure white flowers expand beautifully among them in the latter part of the afternoon. The nut grows under the water after the flowers decay, and is of a triangular shape, and covered with a tough brown integument adhering strongly to the kernel, which is white, esculent, and of a fine cartilaginous texture. The people are very fond of these nuts, and they are carried often upon bullocks' backs two or three hundred miles to market. They ripen in the latter end of the rains, or in September; and are eatable till the end of November. The rent paid for an ordinary tank by the cultivator is about one hundred rupees a year. I have known two hundred rupees to be paid for a very large one, and even three hundred, or thirty pounds, a year. But the mud increases so rapidly from this cultivation, that it soon destroys all reservoirs in which it is permitted; and where it is thought desirable to keep up the tank for the sake of the water, it should be carefully prohibited. This is done by stipulating with the renter of the village, at the renewal of the lease, that no singhara shall be planted in the tank, otherwise he will never forego the advantage to himself of the rent for the sake of the convenience, and that only prospective, of the village community in general.

CHAPTER XIII.



THUGS AND POISONERS.

LIEUTENANT BROWN had come on to Dhumow chiefly with a view to investigate a case of murder, which had taken place at the village of Soojeina, about ten miles from Dhumow, on the road to Huttah. A gang of two hundred Thugs were encamped in the grove at Hindoreea in the cold season of 1814, when, early in the morning, seven men well armed with swords and matchlocks passed them bearing treasure from the bank of Motee Kocheea, at Jubbulpore, to their correspondents at Bauda, to the value of four thousand five hundred rupees. The value of their burthen was immediately perceived by these *keen-eyed sportsmen*, and Kosuree, Drigpaul, and Feringeea, three of the leaders, with forty of their fleetest and stoutest followers, were immediately selected for the pursuit. They followed for seven miles unperceived; and coming up with the treasure-bearers in a watercourse half a mile from the village of Soojeina, they rushed in upon them, and put them all to death with their swords. While they were doing so, a tanner, from Soojeina approached with his buffalo; and, to prevent his giving the alarm, they put him to death also, and made off with the treasure, leaving the bodies unburied. A heavy shower of rain fell, and none of the village people came to the place till the next morning early; when some females passing it on their way to Huttah, saw the bodies, and returning to Soojeina, reported the circumstance to their friends. The whole village thereupon flocked to the spot; and the body of the tanner was burned by his

relations with the usual ceremonies; while all the rest were left to be eaten by jackals, dogs, and vultures, who make short work of such things in India.*

We had occasion to examine a very respectable old gentleman at Dhumow upon the case, Gobind Dass, a revenue officer under the former government, and now about seventy years of age. He told us, that he had no knowledge whatever of the murder of the eight men at Soojeina; but he well remembered another which took place seven years before the time we mentioned, at Abhana,

* Lieutenant Brown was suddenly called back to Jubbalpore, and could not go himself to Soojeina. He sent, however, an intelligent native officer to the place, but no man could be induced to acknowledge, that he had ever seen the bodies or heard of the affair; though Feringees pointed out to them exactly where they all lay. They said it must be quite a mistake—that such a thing could not have taken place and they know nothing of it! Lieutenant Brown was aware that all this affected ignorance arose entirely from the dread these people have of being summoned to give evidence to any of our distant courts of justice; and wrote to the officer in the civil charge of the district, to request that he would assure them, that their presence would not be required. Mr. Doolan, the assistant magistrate, happened to be going through Soojeina from Saugor on deputation at the time; and sending for all the respectable old men of the place, he requested that they would be under no apprehension, but tell him the real truth, as he could pledge himself that not one of them should ever be summoned to any distant court to give evidence. They then took him to the spot, and pointed out to him where the bodies had been found; and mentioned, that the body of the tanner had been burned by his friends. The banker, whose treasure they were carrying, had an equal dislike to be summoned to court to give evidence, now that he could no longer hope to recover any portion of his lost money; and it was not till after Lieutenant Brown had given him a similar assurance, that he would consent to have his books examined. The loss of the four thousand five hundred rupees was there found entered, with the names of the men who had been killed at Soojeina in carrying it. These are specimens of some of the minor difficulties we had to contend with in our efforts to put down the most dreadful of all crimes. All the prisoners accused of these murders had just been tried for others, or Lieutenant Brown would not have been able to give the pledge he did.

a stage or two back, on the road to Jubbulpore. Seventeen treasurebearers lodged in the grove near that town on their way from Jubbulpore to Saugor. At night they were set upon by a large gang of Thugs, and sixteen of them strangled; but the seventeenth laid hold of the noose before it could be brought to bear upon his throat, pulled down the villain who held it, and made his way good to the town. The Rajah, Duruk Singh, went to the spot with all the followers he could collect; but he found there nothing but the sixteen naked bodies lying in the grove, with their eyes apparently starting out of their sockets! The Thugs had all gone off with the treasure and their clothes; and the Rajah searched for them in vain.

A native commissioned officer of a regiment of native infantry, one day told me, that while he was on duty over some Thugs at Lucknow, one of them related, with great seeming pleasure, the following case, which seemed to him one of the most remarkable that he had heard them speak of during the time they were under his charge.

"A stout Mogul officer of noble bearing and singularly handsome countenance, on his way from the Punjab to Oude, crossed the Ganges at Gurmuktesur Ghat, near Meeruth, to pass through Moradabad and Bareilly. He was mounted on a fine Turkee horse, and attended by his Khidmutgar (butler) and groom. Soon after crossing the river, he fell in with a small party of well-dressed and modest-looking men, going the same road. They accosted him in a respectful manner, and attempted to enter into conversation with him. He had heard of Thugs, and told them to be off. They smiled at his idle suspicions, and tried to remove them, but all in vain; the Mogul was determined; they saw his nostrils swelling with indignation, took their leave, and followed slowly. The next morning he overtook the same number of men, but of a different appearance, all Mussulmans. They accosted him in the same respectful manner; talked of the danger of the

road, and the necessity of their keeping together, and taking advantage of the protection of any mounted gentleman that happened to be going the same way. The Mogul Officer said not a word in reply, resolved to have no companions on the road. They persisted—his nostrils began again to swell, and putting his hand to his sword, he bid them all be off, or he would have their heads from their shoulders. He had a bow and quiver full of arrows over his shoulders, a brace of loaded pistols in his waist-belt, and a sword by his side, and was altogether a very formidable looking cavalier. In the evening another party, that lodged in the same surae, became very intimate with the butler and groom. They were going the same road; and as the Mogul overtook them in the morning, they made their bows respectfully, and began to enter into conversation with their two friends, the groom and the butler, who were coming up behind. The Mogul's nostrils began again to swell, and he bid the strangers be off. The groom and butler interceded, for their master was a grave, sedate man, and they wanted companions. All would not do, and the stranger fell in the rear. The next day, when they had got to the middle of an extensive and uninhabited plain, the Mogul in advance, and his two servants a few hundred yards behind, he came up to a party of six poor Mussulmans, sitting weeping by the side of a dead companion. They were soldiers from Lahore, on their way to Lucknow, worn down by fatigue in their anxiety to see the wives and children once more, after a long and painful service. Their companion, the hope and prop of his family, had sunk under the fatigue, and they had made a grave for him; but they were poor unlettered men, and unable to repeat the funeral service from the holy Koran—would his highness but perform this last office for them, he would no doubt find his reward in this world and the next. The Mogul dismounted—the body had been placed in its proper position, with its head towards Mecca. A carpet was spread—the Mogul took off his bow and quiver, then his pisto

and sword, and placed them on the ground near the body—called for water, and washed his feet, hands, and face, that he might not pronounce the holy words in an unclean state. He then knelt down and began to repeat the funeral service, in a clear loud voice. Two of the poor soldiers knelt by him, one on each side in silence. The other four went off a few paces, to beg that the butler and groom would not come so near as to interrupt the good Samaritan at his devotions. All being ready, one of the four, in a low undertone, gave the Shirnee, (signal,) the handkerchiefs were thrown over their necks, and in a few minutes all three—the Mogul and his servants—were dead, and lying in the usual manner, the head of one at the feet of the one below him. All the parties they had met on the road belonged to a gang of Jumaldee Thugs, of the kingdom of Oude. In despair of being able to win the Mogul's confidence, in the usual way, and determined to have the money and jewels, which they knew he carried with him, they had adopted this plan of disarming him; dug the grave by the side of the road, in the open plain, and made a handsome young Mussulman of the party the dead soldier. The Mogul being a very stout man, died almost without a struggle, as is usually the case with such; and his two servants made no resistance."

People of great sensibility, with hearts overcharged with sorrow, often appear cold and callous to those who seem to them to feel no interest in their afflictions. An instance of this kind I will here mention; it is one of thousands that I have met with in my Indian rambles. It was mentioned to me one day that an old Fukeer, who lived in a small hut close by a little shrine on the side of the road near the town of Moradabad, had lately lost his son, poisoned by a party of a Dhutooreas, or professional poisoners that now infest every road throughout India. I sent for him, and requested him to tell me his story, as I might perhaps be able to trace the murderers. He did so, and a Persian writer took it down while I listened with all the coldness of a

magistrate, who wanted merely to learn facts, and have nothing whatever to do with feelings. This is his story literally :—

“I reside in my hut by the side of the road a mile and half from the town, and live upon the bounty of travellers, and people of the surrounding villages. About six weeks ago, I was sitting by the side of my shrine after saying prayers, with my only son about ten years of age, when a man came up with his wife, his son, and his daughter, the one a little older and the other a little younger than my boy. They baked and ate their bread near my shrine, and gave me flour enough to make two cakes. This I prepared and baked. My boy was hungry, and ate one cake and a half. I ate only half a one, for I was not hungry. I had a few days before purchased a new blanket for my boy, and it was hanging in a branch of the tree that shaded the shrine, when these people came. My son and I soon became stupified. I saw him fall asleep, and I soon followed. I awoke again in the evening, and found myself in a pool of water. I had sense enough to crawl towards my boy! I found him still breathing; and I sat by him with his head in my lap, where he soon died. It was now evening, and I got up, and wandered about all night picking up straws—I know not why. I was not yet quite sensible. During the night, the wolves ate my poor boy. I heard this from travellers, and went and gathered up his bones and buried them in the shrine. I did not quite recover till the third day, when I found that some washerwomen had put me into the pool, and left me there with my head out, in hopes that this would revive me; but they had no hope of my son. I was then taken to the police of the town; but the landholders had begged me to say nothing about the poisoners, lest it might get them and their village community into trouble. The man was tall and fair, and about thirty-five; the woman short, stout and fair, and about thirty: two of her teeth projected a good deal; the boy’s eyelids were much diseased.”

All this he told me without the slightest appearance of emotion, for he had not seen any appearance of it in me, or my Persian writer; and a casual European observer would perhaps have exclaimed, "What brutes these natives are! this fellow feels no more for the loss of his only son than he would for that of a goat!" But I knew the feeling was there. The Persian writer put up his paper, and closed his inkstand; and the following dialogue, word for word, took place between me and the old man.

Question. What made you conceal the real cause of your-boy's death, and tell the police that he had been killed as well as eaten by wolves?

Answer. The landholders told me that they could never bring back my boy to life, and the whole village would be worried to death by them if I made any mention of the poison.

Question. And if they were to be punished for this they would annoy you?

Answer. Certainly. But I believe they advised me for my own good as well as their own.

Question. And if they should turn you away from that place, could you not make another?

Answer. Are not the bones of my poor boy there; and the trees that he and I planted and watched together for ten years.

Question. Have you no other relations? What became of your boy's mother?

Answer. She died at that place when my boy was only three months old. I have brought him up myself from that age: he was my only child, and he has been poisoned for the sake of the blanket! (Here the poor old man sobbed as if his heartstrings would break; and I was obliged to make him sit down on the floor while I walked up and down the room.)

Question. Had you any children before?

Answer. Yes, sir, we had several, but they all died before their mother. We had been reduced to beggary by misfortunes, and I had become too weak and ill to work. I buried my poor wife's bones by the side of the road where she died; raised the little shrine over them, planted the trees, and there have I sat ever since by her side, with our poor boy in my bosom. It is a sad place for wolves, and we used often to hear them howling outside; but my poor boy was never afraid of them when he knew I was near him. God preserved him to me, till the sight of the new blanket, for I had nothing else in the world, made the people poison us! I bought it for him only a few days before when the rains were coming on, out of my savings—I was all I had. (The poor old man sobbed again, and sat down while I paced the room, lest I should sob also; my heart was becoming a little too large for its apartment.) "I will never," continued he, "quit the bones of my wife and child, and the trees that he and I watered for so many years. I have not many years to live; there I will spend them, whatever the landholders may do—they advised me for my own good, and will never turn me out."

I found all the poor man stated to be true; the man and his wife had mixed poison with the flour to destroy the poor old man and his son for the sake of the new blanket which they saw hanging in the branch of the tree, and carried away with them. The poison used on such occasions is commonly the datura, and it is sometimes given in the hookah to be smoked, and at others in food. When they require to poison children as well as grown-up people, or women who do not smoke, they mix up the poison in food. The intention is almost always to destroy life, as "dead men tell no tales;" but the poisoned people sometimes recover as in the present case, and lead to the detection of the poisoners. The cases in which they recover are, however, rare; and of those who recover few are ever able to trace the poisoners; and of those who recover and trace them, very few will ever undertake

to prosecute them through the several courts of the magistrate, the sessions, and that of last instance in a distant district, to which the proceedings must be sent for final orders.

The impunity with which this crime is everywhere perpetrated, and its consequent increase in every part of India, are among the greatest evils with which the country is at this time afflicted. These poisoners are spread all over India, and are as numerous over the Bombay and Madras presidencies as over that of Bengal. There is no road free from them, and throughout India there must be many hundreds who gain their subsistence by this trade alone. They put on all manner of disguises to suit their purpose; and as they prey chiefly upon the poorer sort of travellers, they require to destroy the greater number of lives to make up their incomes. A party of two or three poisoners have very often succeeded in destroying another of eight or ten travellers with whom they have journeyed for some days, by pretending to give them a feast on the celebration of the anniversary of some family event. Sometimes an old woman or man will manage the thing alone, by gaining the confidence of travellers, and getting near the cooking-pots while they go aside; or when employed to bring the flour for the meal from the bazaar. The poison is put into the flour or the pot, as opportunity offers.

People of all castes and callings take to this trade, some casually, others for life, and others derive it from their parents or teachers. They assume all manner of disguises to suit their purposes; and the habit of cooking, eating, and sleeping on the side of the road, and smoking with strangers of seemingly the same caste, greatly facilitate their designs upon travellers. The small parties are unconnected with each other, and two parties never unite in the same cruise. The members of one party may be sometimes convicted and punished, but their conviction is accidental, for the system which has enabled us to put down the

Thug associations cannot be applied, with any fair prospect of success, to the suppression of these pests to society.

The Thugs went on their adventures in large gangs; and two or more were commonly united in the course of an expedition in the perpetration of many murders. Every man shared in the booty according to the rank he held in the gang, or the part he took in the murders; and the rank of every man, and the part he took generally, or in any particular murder, were generally well known to all. From among these gangs, when arrested, we found the evidence we required for their conviction—or the means of tracing it, among the families and friends of their victims—or with persons to whom the property taken had been disposed of—and in the graves to which the victims had been consigned.

To give an idea of the system by which the government of India has been enabled to effect so great a good for the people as the suppression of these associations, I will suppose that two sporting gentlemen, A at Delhi, B in Calcutta, had both described the killing of a tiger in an island in the Ganges, near Hurdwar, and mentioned the names of the persons engaged with them. Among the persons thus named were C, who had since returned to America, D, who had retired to New South Wales, E to England, and F to Scotland. There were four other persons named who were still in India, but they are deeply interested in A and B's story not being believed. A says that B got the skin of the tiger, and B states that he gave it to C, who cut out two of the claws. Application is made to C, D, E, and F, and without the possibility of any collusion, or even communication between them, their statements correspond precisely with those of A and B, as to the time, place, circumstances, and persons engaged. Their statements are sworn to before magistrates, in presence of witnesses, and duly attested. C states that he got the skin from B, and gave it to the Nawab of Rampore for a hookah carpet, but that

and B should not be believed. They would all, perhaps, come to the said court from the different quarters of the world in which they had thought themselves snugly settled ; but the thing would annoy them so much, and be so much talked of, that sporting gentlemen, nawabs, ministers, and goldsmiths, would in future take good care “to have forgotten” everything connected with the matter in dispute, should another similar reference be made to them, and so A and B would never again have any chance.

Thug approvers, whose evidence we required, were employed in all parts of India, under the officers appointed to put down these associations ; and it was difficult to bring all whose evidence was necessary at the trials, to the court of the district in which the particular murder had been perpetrated. The victims were, for the most part, money-carriers, whose masters and families resided hundreds of miles from the place where they were murdered, or people on their way to their distant homes from foreign service. There was no chance of recovering any of the property taken from the victims, as Thugs were known to spend what they got freely, and never to have money by them ; and the friends of the victims, and the bankers whose money they carried, were everywhere found exceedingly averse to take any share in the prosecution.

To obviate all these difficulties, separate courts were formed, with permission to receive whatever evidence they might think likely to prove valuable, attaching to each portion, whether documentary or oral, whatever weight it might seem to deserve. Such courts were formed at Hyderabad, Mysore, Indore, Lucknow, Gwalior, and were presided over by our highest diplomatic functionaries, in concurrence with the princes at whose courts they were accredited ; and who at Jubbulpore were under the direction of the representative of the Governor-General of India. By this means we had a most valuable species of unpaid agency ; and I believe there is no part of their public life on which these high

functionaries look back with more pride, than that spent in presiding over such courts, and assisting the supreme government in relieving the people of India from this fearful evil.*

* I may here mention the names of a few diplomatic officers of distinction who have aided in the good cause : of the civil service—Mr. F.C. Smith, Mr. Martin Mr. George Stockwell, Mr. Charles Fraser, the Hon. Mr. Wellesley, the Hon. Mr. Shore, the Hon. Mr. Cavendish, Mr. George Clerk, Mr. L. Wilkinson, Mr. Box ; Majors-General, Cubbon and Fraser ; Colonels, Low, Stewart, Alves, Spiers Caulfield, Sutherland, and Wade ; Major Wilkinson ; and among the foremost Major Bothwick and Captain Paton.



CHAPTER XIV.



BASALTIC CAPPINGS OF THE SANDSTONE HILLS OF CENTRAL INDIA—SUSPENSION BRIDGE—PROSPECTS OF THE NERBUDDA VALLEY—DEIFICATION OF A MORTAL.

ON the 29th we came on to Puthureea, a considerable little town thirty miles from Saugor, supported almost entirely by a few farmers, small agricultural capitalists, and the establishment of a native collector. On leaving Puthureea, we ascend gradually along the side of the basaltic hills on our left, to the south, for three miles, to a point whence we see before us this plane of flat basaltic cappings extending as far as the eye can reach to the west, south, and north, with frequent breaks, but still preserving one uniform level. On the top of these tables are here and there little conical elevations of laterite, or indurated iron clay. The cappings everywhere repose immediately upon the sandstone of the Vindhya range; but they have occasional beds of limestone formed apparently by springs rising from their sides, and strongly impregnated with carbonic acid gas. For the most part this is mere travertine; but in some places they get good lime from the beds for building.

On the 1st of December we came to the pretty village of Sunodah, near the suspension bridge built over the river Beeso by Colonel Presgrave while he was assay master of the Saugor mint. I was present at laying the foundation-stone of this bridge in December, 1827. Mr. Maddock was the governor-general's representative in these territories, and the work was undertaken

more with a view to show what could be done out of their own resources under minds capable of developing them, than to supply any pressing or urgent want. The work was completed in June, 1830 ; and I have several times seen upon the bridge as many as it could hold of a regiment of infantry while it moved over ; and at other times, as many of a corps of cavalry, and often several elephants at once. The bridge is between the point of suspension two hundred feet ; and the clear portion of the platform measures one hundred and ninety feet by eleven and a half. The whole cost of the work amounted to about fifty thousand rupees ; and under a less able and careful person than Colonel Prossgrave would have cost perhaps double the amount. This work has been declared by a very competent judge to be equal to any structure of the same kind in Europe ; and is eminently calculated to show what genius and perseverance can produce out of the resources of a country even in the rudest state of industry and the arts.

The river Nerbudda neither is nor ever can, I fear, be made navigable ; and the produce of its valley would require to find its way to distant markets over the Vindhya range of hills to the north, or the Sathpore to the south. If the produce of the soil, mines, and industry of the valley cannot be transported to distant markets, the government cannot possibly find in it any available net surplus revenue in money, for it has no mines of the precious metals, and the precious metals can flow in only in exchange for the produce of the land and the industry of the valley that flows out. If the government wishes to draw a net surplus revenue from the valley or from the districts that border upon it, that is, a revenue beyond its expenditure in support of the local public establishments, it must either draw it in produce, or for what can be got for that produce in distant markets. Hitherto little beyond the rude produce of the soil has been able to find its way into distant markets from the valley of the Nerbudda ; yet this valley abounds in iron mines ; and its soil, where unex-

hausted by cropping, is of the richest quality.* It is not then too much to hope, that in time the iron of the mines will be worked into machinery for manufactures; and that multitudes, aided by this machinery, and subsisted on the rude agricultural produce, which now flows out, will invest the value of their labour in manufactured commodities adapted to the demand of foreign markets, and better able from their superior value compared with their bulk, to pay the cost of transport by land. Then, and not till then, can we expect to see these territories pay a considerable net surplus revenue to government, and abound in a middle class of merchants, manufacturers, and agricultural capitalists.

At Sunodah there is a very beautiful little fortress or castle now unoccupied, though still entire. It was built by an officer of the Rajah Chutter Saul, of Bundelcund, about one hundred and twenty years ago. He had a grant on the tenure of military service of twelve villages situated round this place; and a man who could build such a castle to defend the surrounding country from the inroads of freebooters, and to secure himself and his troops from any sudden impulse of the people's resentment, was as likely to acquire an increase of territorial possession in these parts, as he would have been in Europe during the middle ages. The son of this chief, by name Rae Sing, was, soon after the castle had been completed, killed in an attack upon a town near Chitterkote; and having in the estimation of the people become a god, he had a temple and a tomb raised to him close to our encampment. I asked the people how he had become a god; and

* The soil of the valley of the Nerunda, and that of the Nerbudda and Saugor territories generally, is formed for the most part of the detritus of trap rocks that everywhere covered the sand-stone of the Vindhya and Satpore ranges which run through these territories. This basaltic detritus forms what is called the black cotton soil by the English, for what reason I know not,

was told, that some one who had been long suffering from a quartan ague went to the tomb one night, and promised Rae Sing, whose ashes lay under it, that if he could contrive to cure his ague for him, he would, during the rest of his life, make offerings to his shrine. After that he had never another attack, and was very punctual in his offerings. Others followed his example and with like success, till Rae Sing was recognized among them universally as a god, and a temple raised to his name ! This is the way that gods were made all over the world at one time, and are still made all over India. Happy had it been for mankind if those only who were supposed to do good had been deified !

On the 2nd we came on to the village of Kojunpore, (leaving the town and cantonments of Saugor to our left,) a distance of some fourteen miles. The road for a great part of the way lies over the bare back of the sandstone strata, the covering of basalt having been washed off. The hills, however, are everywhere, at this distance from the city and cantonments of Saugor, nicely wooded ; and being constantly intersected by pretty little valleys, the country we came over was picturesque and beautiful. The soil of all these valleys is rich from the detritus of the basalt that forms or caps the hills ; but it is now in a bad state of cultivation, partly from several successive seasons of great calamity, under which the people have been suffering, and partly from over-assessment ; and this posture of affairs is continued by that loss of energy, industry, and character, among the farmers and cultivators, which must everywhere result from these two evils. In India, where the people have learnt so well how to govern themselves from the want of settled government, good or bad government really depends almost altogether upon *good or bad settlements of the land revenue*. Where the government demand is imposed with moderation, and enforced with justice, there will the people be generally found happy and contented ; and disposed to perform their duties to each other and to the state, except

when they have the misfortune to suffer from drought, blight, and other calamities of season.

I have mentioned that the basalt in the Saugor district reposes for the most part immediately upon the sandstone of the Vindhya range: and it must have been deposited on the sand while the latter was yet at the bottom of the ocean, though this range is now, I believe, nowhere less than from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The marks of the ripple of the sea may be observed in some places where the basalt has been recently washed off, beautifully defined, as if formed only yesterday; and there is no other substance to be seen between the two rocks. The texture of the sandstone at the surface, where it comes in contact with the basalt, has in some places been altered by it; but in others it seems to have been as little changed as the habitations of the people who were suffocated by the ashes of Vesuvius in the city of Pompeii. I am satisfied, from long and careful examination, that the greater part of this basalt, which covers the table land of central and southern India, must have been held for some time in suspension in the ocean or lake into which it was first thrown in the shape of ashes, and then gradually deposited. This alone can account for its frequent appearance of stratification, for the gentle blending of its particles with those of the sand near the surface of the latter; and above all, for those level steps, or tables, lying one above another horizontally in parallel lines on one range, corresponding exactly with the same parallel lines one above another on a range twenty or thirty miles across the valley. Mr. Scrope's theory is, I believe, that these are all more flowings, or coulées of lava, which, in their liquid state, filled hollows, but afterwards became of a harder texture as they dried and crystallized than the higher rocks around them; the consequence of which is that the latter have been decomposed and washed away while the basalt has been left to form the highest elevations.

My opinion is, that these steps, or stairs, at one time formed the beds of the ocean, or of great lakes; and that the substance of which they are composed was, for the most part, projected into the water, and there held in suspension till gradually deposited. There are, however, amidst these steps and beneath them, masses of more compact and crystalline basalt, that bear evident signs of having been flows of lava.*

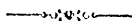
Reasoning from analogy at Jubbulpore, where some of the basaltic capings of the hills had evidently been thrown out of craters long after this surface had been raised above the waters, and become the habitation both of vegetable and animal life, I made the first discovery of fossil remains in the Nerbudda valley. I went first to a hill within sight of my house in 1828, and searched exactly between the plateau of basalt that covered it, and the stratum immediately below; and there I found several small trees with roots, trunks, and branches, all entire, and beautifully petrified. They had been only recently uncovered by the washing away of a part of the basaltic plateau. I soon after found some fossil bones of animals. Going over to Saugor, in the end of 1830, and reasoning there upon the same analogy, I searched for fossil remains along the line of contact between the basalt and the surface upon which it had been deposited; and I found a grove of silicified palm trees within a mile of the cantonments. These palm trees had grown upon a calcareous deposit formed from springs rising out of the basaltic range of hills to the south. The commissariat officer had cut a road through this grove, and all the European officers of

* Since writing the above, I have seen Colonel Sykes's notes on the formations of southern India Review. The facts there described, seem all to support my conclusion; and his map would answer just as well for central as for southern India; for the banks of the Nerbudda and Chumbul, Sohan and Mahanuddae, as well as for those of the Batta and the Beema. Colonel Sykes does not, I believe, attempt to account for the stratification of the basalt; he merely describes it.

a large military station had been every day riding through it without observing the geological treasure ; and it was some time before I could convince them, that the stones which they had every day seen were really petrified palm trees. The roots and trunks were beautifully perfect.



CHAPTAER XV.

LEGEND OF THE SAUGOR LAKE—PARALYSIS FROM EATING THE GRAIN OF
THE LATHYRUS SATIVUS.

THE contonments of Saugor are about two miles from the city and occupied by three regiments of native infantry, one of local horse, and a company of European artillery. The city occupies two sides of one of the most beautiful lakes in India, formed by a wall which unites two sand-stone hills on the north side. The fort and part of the town stands upon this wall, which, according to tradition, was built by a wealthy merchant of the *Brinjara* caste. After he had finished it, the bed of the lake still remained dry; and he was told, in a dream, or by a priest, that it would continue so til he should consent to sacrifice his own daughter, then a girl, and the young led to whom she had been affianced, to the tutelary god of the place. He accordingly built a little shrine in the centre of the valley, which was to become the bed of the lake, put the two children in, and built up the doorway. He had no sooner done so than the whole of the valley became filled with water, and the old merchant, the priest, the masons, and spectators, made their escape with much difficulty. From that time the lake has been inexhaustible; but no living soul of the *Brinjara* caste has ever since been known to drink of its waters! Certainly all of that caste at present religiously avoid drinking the water of the lake; and the old people of the city say, that they have always done so since they can remember; and that they used to hear from their parents that they had always done so. In nothing does the founder of the

Christian religion appear more amiable than in his injunction, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.' In nothing do the Hindoo deities appear more horrible than in the delight they are supposed to take in their sacrifice—it is everywhere the helpless, the female, and the infant, that they seek to devour—and so it was among the Phœnicians and their Carthaginian colonies. Human sacrifices were certainly offered in the city of Sauror during the whole of the Murhatta government up to the year 1800, when they were put a stop to by the local governor, Apa Sahib, a very humane man; and I once heard a very learned Brahman priest say, that he thought the decline of his family and government arose from this *innovation*. "There is," said he, "no sin in *not* offering human sacrifices to the gods where none have been offered; but where the gods have been accustomed to them, they are very naturally annoyed when the rite is abolished, and visit the place and people with all kinds of calamities." He did not seem to think, that there was anything singular in this mode of reasoning; and perhaps three Brahman priests out of four would have reasoned in the same manner!

In descending into the valley of the Nerbudda over the Vindhya range of hills from Bhopaul, one may see by the side of the road, upon a spur of the hill, a singular pillar of sand-stone rising in two spires, one turning above and rising over the other, to the height of from twenty to thirty feet. On a spur of a hill half a mile distant, is another sand-stone pillar not quite so high. The tradition is, that the smaller pillar was the affianced bride of the taller one, who was a youth of a family of great eminence in these parts. Coming with his uncle to pay his first visit to his bride, in the procession they call the *Buraut*, he grew more and more impatient as he approached nearer and nearer, and she shared the feeling. At last, unable to restrain himself, he jumped upon his uncle's shoulder, and looked with all his might towards the spot where his bride was said to be seated. Unhappily she felt no

less impatient than he did, and raising "the fringed curtains of her eye," as he raised his, they saw each other at the same moment. In that moment the bride, bridegroom, and uncle were all converted into stone pillars; and there they stand to this day a monument, in the estimation of the people, to warn man and womankind against too strong an inclination to indulge curiosity! It is a singular fact, that in one of the most extensive tribes of the Gond population of central India, to which this couple is said to have belonged, the bride always goes to the bridegroom in the procession of the *Buraut*, to prevent a recurrence of this calamity! It is the bridegroom who goes to the bride among every other class of the people of India, as well Mahomedans as Hindoos. Whether the usage grew out of the tradition, or the tradition out of the usage, is a question that will admit of much being said on both sides. I can only vouch for the existence of both. I have seen the pillars, heard the tradition from the people, and ascertained the usage; as in the case of that of the Saugor lake.

The Mahadeo Sand-stone hills, which in the Sathpore range, overlook the Nerbudda to the south, rise to between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea; and in one of the highest parts a fair was formerly, and is, perhaps, still held for the enjoyment of those who assemble to witness the self-devotion of a few young men, who offer themselves as a sacrifice, to fulfil the vows of their mothers! When a woman is without children she makes votive offerings to all the gods who can, she thinks, assist her; and promises of still greater in case they should grant what she wants. Smaller promises being found of no avail, she at last promises her first-born, if a male, to the god of destruction, Mahadeo. If she gets a son she conceals from him her vows till he has attained the age of puberty; she then communicates it to him, and enjoins him to fulfil it. He believes it to be his paramount duty to obey his mother's call; and from that moment he considers himself as devoted to the god. With-

out breathing to any living soul a syllable of what she has told him, he puts on the habit of a pilgrim or religious mendicant—visits all the celebrated temples dedicated to this god in different parts of India; and at the annual fair on the Mahadeo hills, throws himself from a perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet, and is dashed to pieces upon the rocks below! If the youth does not feel himself quite prepared for the sacrifice on the first visit, he spends another year in pilgrimages, and returns to fulfil his mother's vow at the next fair. Some have, I believe been known to postpone the sacrifice to a third fair; but the interval is always spent in painful pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of the god. When Sir R. Jenkins was the Governor-General's representative at the court of Nagpore, great efforts were made by him, and all the European officers under him, to put a stop to these horrors by doing away with the fair; and their efforts were assisted by the *cholera morbus*, which broke out among the multitude one season while they were so employed, and carried off the greater part of them. This seasonable visitation was, I believe, considered as an intimation on the part of the god, that the people ought to have been more attentive to the wishes of the *white men*, for it so happens, that Mahadeo is the only one of the Hindoo gods who is represented with a white face. He figures among the dramatis persone of the great pantomime of the Ramleela, or fight for the recovery of Seeta from the demon king of Ceylon; and is the only one with a white face. I know not whether the fair has ever been revived, but think not.

In 1829 the wheat and other spring crops in this and the surrounding villages were destroyed by a severe hail-storm; in 1830 they were deficient from the want of seasonable rains; and in 1831 they were destroyed by blight. During these three years the teegree, or what in other parts of India is called kesarree, (the *lathyrus sativus* of botanists), a kind of wild vetch, which, though

not sown of itself, is left carelessly to grow among the wheat and other grain, and given in the green and dry state to cattle, remained uninjured, and thrived with great luxuriance. In 1831 they reaped a rich crop of it from the blighted wheat fields ; and subsisted upon its grain during that and the following years, giving the stalks and leaves only to their cattle. In 1833 the sad effects of this food began to manifest themselves. The younger part of the population of this and the surrounding villages, from the age of thirty downwards, began to be deprived of the use of their limbs below the waist by paralytic strokes, in all cases sudden, but in some more severe than in others. About half the youth of this village of both sexes became affected during the years 1833 and 1834 ; and many of them have lost the use of their lower limbs entirely, and are unable to move. The youth of the surrounding villages, in which the teoree from the same causes formed the chief article of food during the years 1831 and 1832, have suffered in an equal degree. Since the year 1834 no new case has occurred : but no person once attacked had been found to recover the use of the limbs affected ; and my tent was surrounded by great numbers of the youth in different stages of the disease, imploring my advice and assistance under this dreadful visitation. Some of them were very fine-looking young men of good caste and respectable families ; and all stated, that their pains and infirmities were confined entirely to the parts below the waist. They described the attack as coming on suddenly, often while the person was asleep, and without any warning symptoms whatever ; and stated, that a greater portion of the young men were attacked than of the young women. It is the prevailing opinion of the natives throughout the country, that both horses and bullocks, which have been much fed upon teoree, are liable to lose the use of their limbs ; but if the poisonous qualities abound more in the grain than in the stalk or the leaves, man, who eats nothing but the grain, must be more liable to suffer

from the use of this food than beasts, which eat it merely as they eat grass or hay.

I sent the son of the head man of the village and another, who were among the young people least affected, into Sangor with a letter to my friend Dr. Foley, with a request that he would try what he could do for them; and if he had any fair prospect of being able to restore these people to the use of their limbs, that measures might be adopted through the civil authorities, to provide them with accommodation and the means of subsistence, either by private subscription or by application to government. The civil authorities, however, could find neither accommodation nor funds to maintain these people while under Dr. Foley's care; and several seasons of calamity had deprived them of the means of maintaining themselves at a distance from their families. Nor is a medical man in India provided with the means found most effectual in removing such affections, such as baths, galvanic batteries, &c. &c.. It is lamentable to think how very little we have as yet done for the country in the healing art, that art which above all others a benevolent and enlightened government should encourage among the people of India.

All we have as yet done has been to provide medical attendants for our European officers, regiments, and jails. It must not, however, be supposed that the people of India are without medical advice; for there is not a town or considerable village in India without its medical practitioners, the Hindoos following the Egyptian, (Mierceance,) and the Mussulmans the Grecian (Yoonance) practice. The first prescribe little physic and much fasting; and the second follow the good old rules of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, with which they are tolerably well acquainted. As far as the office of physician goes, the natives of India of all classes, high and low, have much more confidence in their own practitioners than in ours—whom they consider too reckless, and better adapted to treat diseases in a

cold than a hot climate. They cannot afford to give the only fees which the European physicians would accept; and they see them, in their hospital practice, trust much to their native assistants, who are very few of them able to read any book, much less to study the profound doctrines of the great masters of the science of medicine.* No native ventures to offer an opinion upon this abstruse subject in any circle where he is not known to be profoundly read in either Arabic or Sanscrit lore; no would he venture to give a prescription without first consulting, "spectacles on nose," a book as large as a church bible. The educated class, as indeed all classes say, that they do not want our physicians, but stand much in need of our surgeons. Here they feel that they are helpless, and we are strong; and they seek our aid whenever they see any chance of obtaining it as in the present case. Considering that every European gentleman they meet is more or less a surgeon, or hoping to find him so, people who are afflicted, or have children afflicted, with any kind of malformation, or malorganization, flock round them wherever they go, and implore their aid; but implore in vain, for when they do happen to fall in with a surgeon, he is a mere passer by, without the means or the time to afford relief. In travelling over India, there is nothing which distresses a benevolent man so much as the necessity he is daily under of telling poor

* One of our tent-pitchers one morning, after pitching our tent, asked the loan of a small extra one for the use of his wife, who was about to be confined. The basket-maker's wife of the village near which we were encamped was called; and the poor woman, before we had finished our breakfast, gave birth to a daughter. The charge is half a rupee, or one shilling, for a boy, and a quarter, or sixpence, for a girl. The tent-pitcher gave her ninepence, which the poor midwife thought very handsome. The mother had come fourteen miles upon a loaded cart over rough roads the night before; and went the same distance with her child the night after, upon the same cart. The first midwife in Europe could not have done her duty better than this poor basketmaker's wife did hers.

parents, who with aching hearts and tearful eyes approach him with their suffering children in their arms, that to relieve them is a time and means which are not at a traveller's command, or a species of knowledge which he does not possess : it is bitter thus to dash to the ground the cup of hope which our approach has raised to the lip of mother, father, and child ; but he consoles himself with the prospect, that at no distant period a benevolent and enlightened government will distribute over the land those from whom the afflicted will not seek relief in vain.

CHAPTER XVI.



SUTTEE TOMBS—INSALUBRITY OF DESERTED FORTRESSES.

ON the 3rd we came to Behrole, where I had encamped with Lord William Bentinck on the last day of December, 1832, when the quicksilver in the thermometer at sunrise, outside our tents, was down to twenty-six degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The village stands upon a gentle swelling hill of decomposed basalt, and is surrounded by hills of the same formation. The Dussan river flows close under the village, and has two beautiful reaches, one above, the other below, separated by the dyke of basalt, over which lies the ford of the river. There are beautiful reaches of the kind in all the rivers in this part of India, and they are almost everywhere formed in the same manner. At Behrole there are a very unusual number of tombs built over the ashes of women who have burnt themselves with the remains of their husbands. Upon each tomb stands erect a tablet of freestone, with the sun, the new moon, and a rose engraved upon it in bas-relief, in one field; and the man and woman, hand in hand, in the other. On one stone of this kind I saw a third field below these two, with the figure of a horse in bas-relief; and I asked one of the gentlemen farmers, who was riding with me, what it meant. He told me, that he thought it indicated that the widow rode on horseback to bath before she ascended the pile. I asked him whether he thought the measure, prohibiting the practice of burning, good or bad?

"It is," said he, "in some respects good, and in others bad. Widows cannot marry among us, and those who had no prospect

of a comfortable provision among their husband's relations, or who dreaded the possibility of going astray, and thereby sinking into contempt and misery, were enabled, in this way, to relieve their minds, and follow their husbands, under the full assurance of being happily united to them in the next world."

When I passed this place on horseback with Lord William, he asked me what these tombs were; for he had never seen any of the kind before. When I told him what they were, he said not a word; but he must have felt a proud consciousness of the debt of gratitude which India owes to the statesman who had the courage to put a stop to this great evil, in spite of all the fearful obstacles which bigotry and prejudice opposed to the measure. The seven European functionaries, in charge of the seven districts of the newly-acquired territories, were requested, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1826, to state whether the burning of widows could or should be prohibited; and I believe every one of them declared, *that it should not!* And yet when it was put a stop to only a few years after by Lord William, not a complaint or murmur was heard. The replies to the Governor-general's inquiries were, I believe, throughout India, for the most part, opposed to the measure.


On the 24th we came to Dhamonee, ten miles. The only thing remarkable here is the magnificent fortress which is built upon a small projection of the Vindhya range, looking down on each side into two enormously deep glens, through which the two branches of the Dussan river descend over the table land into the plains of Bundelcund. The rays of the sun seldom penetrate to the bottom of these glens, and things are, in consequence, grown there that could not be grown in parts more exposed. Every inch of the level ground in the bed of the streams below, seems to be cultivated with care. This fortress is said to have cost more than a billion of money; and to have been only one of fifty-two great works, of which a former Rajah of Bundelcund, Bursing

Deo, laid the foundation in the same *happy hour* which had been pointed out to him by his astrologers. The works form an acute triangle, with the base towards the table land, and the two sides hanging perpendicularly over the glens; while the apex points to the course of the streams as they again unite, and pass out through a deep chasm into the plains of Bundelcund.

The fortress is now entirely deserted, and the town, which the garrison supported, is occupied by only a small police guard, stationed here to see that robbers do not take up their abode among the ruins. There is no fear of this. All old deserted fortresses in India become filled by a dense stratum of carbonic acid gas, which is found so inimical to animal life, that those who attempt to occupy them become ill, and sooner or later almost all die of the consequences. This gas being specifically much heavier than common air, descends into the bottom of such unoccupied fortresses, and remains stagnant like water in old reservoirs. The current of pure air continually passes over, without being able to carry off the mass of stagnant air below; and the only way to render such places habitable is, to make large openings in the walls on all sides, from the top to the bottom, so that the foul air may be driven out by the current of pure atmospheric fluid, which will then be continually rushing in. When these fortresses are thickly peopled, the continual motion within tends, I think, to mix up this gas with the air above; while the numerous fires lighted within, by rarifying that below, tend to draw down a regular supply of the atmospheric air from above for the benefit of the inhabitants. When natives enter upon the occupation of an old fortress of this kind, that has remained long unoccupied, they always make a solemn religious ceremony of it; and having fed the priests, the troops, and a crowd of followers, all rush in at once with beat of drums, and as much noise as they can make. By this rush, and the fires that follow, the bad air is perhaps driven off; and never suffered to collect again while the fortress

remains fully occupied. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain, that these fortresses become deadly places of abode for small detachments of troops, or small parties of any kind. They all get ill, and few recover from the diseases they contract in them.

From the year 1817, when we first took possession of the Sangor and Nerbudda territories, almost all the detachments of troops we required to keep at a distance from the head-quarters of their regiments, were posted in these old deserted fortifications. Our collections of revenue were deposited in them; and in some cases they were converted into jails for the accommodation of our prisoners. Of the soldiers so lodged, I do not believe that one in four ever came out well; and of those who came out ill, I do not believe that one in four survived five years. They were all abandoned one after the other; but it is painful to think how many hundreds, I may say thousands, of our brave soldiers were sacrificed, before this resolution was taken. I have known the whole of the survivors of strong detachments that went in, in robust health, three months before, brought away mere skeletons, and in a hopeless and dying state. All were sent to their homes on medical certificate, but they almost all died there, or in the course of their journey.



CHAPTER XVII.



BASALTIC CAPPINGS—INTERVIEW WITH A NATIVE CHIEF—A SINGULAR CHARACTER.

ON the 3rd, we came to the village of Sowree. Soon after leaving Dhamonee, we descended the northern face of the Vindhya range into the plains of Bundelcund. The face of this range overlooking the valley of the Nerbudda to the south, is, as I have before stated, a series of mural precipices, like so many rounded bastions, the slight dip of the strata being to the north. The northern face towards Bundelcund, on the contrary, here descends gradually, as the strata dips slightly towards the north; and we pass down gently over their back. The strata have, however, been a good deal broken, and the road was so rugged, that two of our carts broke down in descending. From the descent over the northern face of the table-land into Bundelcund, to the descent over the southern face into the valley of the Nerbudda, must be a distance of one hundred miles directly north and south. The descent over the northern face is not everywhere so gradual; on the contrary, there are but few places where it is at all feasible; and some of the rivers of the table-land, between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore, have a perpendicular fall of more than four hundred feet over these mural precipices of the northern face of the Vindhya range. A man, if he has good nerve, may hang over the summits, and suspend in his hand a plummet that shall reach the bottom.

• I should mention, that this table-land is not only intersected by ranges, but everywhere studded with isolated hills rising suddenly out of basins or valleys. These ranges and isolated hills are all of the same sandstone formation, and capped with basalt, more or less amygdaloidal. The valleys and basins have often a substratum of very compact basalt, which must evidently have flowed into them after these islands were formed. The question is, how were, these valleys and basins scooped out? "*Time—time—time!*" says Mr. Scrope: "grant me only time, and I can account for everything!" I think, however, that I am right in considering the basaltic cappings of these ranges and isolated hills to have once formed parts of continued flat beds of great lakes. The flat parallel planes of these cappings, corresponding with each other, however distantly separated the hills they cover may be, would seem to indicate, that they could not all have been subject to the convulsions of nature, by which the whole substrata were upheaved above the ocean. I am disposed to think, that such islands and ranges of the sandstone were formed before the deposit of the basalt, and that the form of the surface is now returning to what it then was, by the gradual decomposition and wearing away of the latter rock: much, however, may be said on both sides of this, as of every other question. After descending from the sandstone of the Vindhya range into Bundelcund, we pass over basalt and basaltic soil, reposing immediately upon syenitic granite, with here and there beds and veins of pure feldspar, hornblende, and quartz.

Tukut Sing, the younger brother of Urjun Sing, the Rajah of Shahgurbh, came out several miles to meet me on his elephant. Finding me on horseback, he got off from his elephant, and mounted his horse, and we rode on till we met the rajah himself, about a mile from our tents. He was on horseback, with a large and splendidly-dressed train of followers, all mounted on fine sleek horses, bred in the rajah's own stables. He was

mounted on a snow-white steed of his own breeding (and I have rarely seen a finer animal) and dressed in a light suit of silver brocade, made to represent the scales of steel armour, surmounted by a gold turban. Tukut Sing was more plainly dressed, but is a much finer and more intelligent looking man. Having escorted us to our tents, they took their leave, and returned to their own, which were pitched on a rising ground on the other side of a small stream, half a mile distant. Tukut Sing resides here in a very pretty fortified castle, on an eminence. It is a square building with a round bastion at each corner, and one on each face, rising into towers above the walls.

A little after mid-day the rajah and his brother came to pay us a visit; and about four o'clock I went to return it, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas. As usual he had a nautch (dance) upon carpets, spread upon the sward under awnings, in front of the pavilion, in which we were received. While the women were dancing and singing, a very fine panther was brought in to be shown to us. He had been caught, full grown, two years before; and in the hands of a skilful man was fit for the chase in six months. It was a very beautiful animal, but for the sake of the sport kept wretchedly thin. He seemed especially indifferent to the crowd and the music, but could not bear to see the woman whirling about in the dance with her red mantle floating in the breeze; and whenever his head was turned towards her he cropped his ears. She at last, in play, swept close by him, and with open mouth, he attempted to spring upon her, but was pulled back by the keeper. She gave a shriek, and nearly fell upon her back in fright. The rajah is a man of no parts or character; and his expenditure being beyond his income, he is killing his goose for the sake of her eggs—that is, he is ruining all the farmers and cultivators of his large estate by exactions; and thereby throwing immense tracts of fine land out of tillage. He was the heir to the fortress and territory of Gurba Kotali,

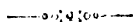
near Saugor, which was taken by Scindhceea's army, under the command of Jean Baptiste Felose, just before our conquest in 1817. I was then with my regiment, which was commanded by Colonel, afterwards Major-general G—, a very singular character. When our surgeon, Dr. E—, received the newspaper announcing the capture of Gurbakotah, in Central India, by *Jean Baptiste*, an officer of the corps was with him, who called on the colonel on his way home, and mentioned this as a bit of news. As soon as this officer had left him, the colonel wrote off a note to the doctor—"My dear Doctor,—I understand that that fellow, *John the Baptist*, has got into Scindhceea's service, and now commands an army—do send me the newspapers!" These were certainly the word of his note; and at the only time I ever heard him speak on the subject of religion, he discomfited his adversary in an argument at the mess, by, "Why, sir, you do not suppose that I believe in those fellows, Luther, Calvin, and John the Baptist, do you?"

Nothing could stand this argument. All the party burst into a laugh, which the old gentleman took for an unequivocal recognition of his victory; and his adversary was silenced. He was an old man when I first became acquainted with him. I put into his hands, when in camp, Miss Edgeworth's novels, in the hope of being able to induce him to read by degrees; and I have frequently seen the tears stealing down over his furrowed cheeks, as he sat pondering over her pages in the corner of his tent. A braver soldier never lived than old G.; and he distinguished himself greatly in the command of his regiment, under Lord Lake, at the battle of Laswaree and siege of Bhurtpore. It was impossible ever to persuade him, that the characters and incidents of these novels were the mere creation of fancy—he felt them to be true—he wished them to be true, and he would have them to be true. We were not very anxious to undeceive him, as the illusion gave him pleasure and did him good. Bolingbroke says, after an ancient author, "History is philosophy teaching

by example." With equal truth may we say, that fiction, like that of Maria Edgeworth, is philosophy teaching by emotion. It certainly taught old G. to be a better man, to leave undone much of the little evil he had been in the habit of doing, and to do much of the good he had been accustomed to leave undone !



CHAPTER XVIII.



BIRD'S NESTS—SPORTS OF BOYHOOD.

ON the 6th we came to Seindpore, ten miles, over an undulating country, with a fine soil of decomposed basalt, reposing upon syenite, with veins of feldspar and quartz. Cultivation partial and very bad; and population extremely scanty. We passed close to a village, in which the children were all at play: while upon the bushes over their heads were suspended an immense number of the beautiful nests of the sagacious Baya bird, or Indian yellowhammer, all within reach of a grown-up boy, and one so near the road that a grown-up man might actually look into it as he passed along, and could hardly help shaking it. It cannot fail to strike an European as singular, to see so many birds' nests, situated close to a village, remain unmolested within reach of so many boisterous children, with their little proprietors, and families flattering and chirping among them with as great a feeling of security and gaiety of heart as the children themselves enjoy. In any part of Europe not a nest of such a colony could have lived an hour within reach of such a population; for the Baya bird has no peculiar respect paid to it by the people here like the wren and robin-redbreast in England. No boy in India has the slightest wish to molest birds in their nests; it enters not into their pastimes, and they have no feeling of pride or pleasure in it. With us it is different—to discover birds' nests is one of the first modes in which a boy exercises his powers, and displays his love of art. Upon his skill in finding them he is willing to rest his first claim to superior sagacity and enterprise.

His trophies are his string of eggs; and the eggs most prized among them are those of the nests that are discovered with most difficulty, and attained with most danger. The same feeling or desire to display their skill and enterprise in search after birds' nests in early life, renders the youth of England the enemy almost of the whole animal creation throughout their after career. The boy prides himself on his dexterity in throwing a stone or a stick; and he practises on almost every animal that comes in his way, till he never sees one without the desire to knock it down, or at least to hit it; and, if it is lawful to do so, he feels it to be a most serious misfortune not to have a stone within his reach at the time. As he grows up he prides himself upon his dexterity in shooting, and he never sees a member of the feathered tribe within shot without a desire to shoot it, or without regretting that he has not a gun in his hand to shoot it. That he is not entirely destitute of sympathy, however, with the animals he maims for his amusement, is sufficiently manifest from his anxiety to put them out of pain the moment he gets them.

A friend of mine, now no more, Captain Medwin, was once looking with me at a beautiful landscape painting, through a glass. At last he put aside the glass, saying, "You may say what you like, S —, but the best landscape I know is a fine black partridge falling before my Joe Manton."

The following lines of Walter Scott, in his *Rokeby*, have always struck me as very beautiful :

"As yet the conscious pride of art,
Had steel'd him in his treacherous part :
A powerful spring of force unguessed
That hath each gentler mood suppressed,
And reigned in many a human breast;
From his that plans the rude campaign,
To his that wastes the woodland reign," &c.

Among the people of India it is very different. Children do not learn to exercise their powers either in discovering and

robbing the nests of birds, or in knocking them down with stones and staves; and as they grow up they hardly ever think of hunting or shooting for mere amusement. It is with them a matter of business; the animal they cannot eat they seldom think of molesting.

Some officers were one day pursuing a jackal, with a pack of dogs, through my grounds. The animal passed close to one of my guard, who cut him in two with his sword, and held up the reeking blade in triumph to the indignant cavalcade; who, when they came up, were ready to eat him alive.

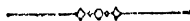
"What have I done," said the poor man, "to offend you?"

"Have you not killed the jackal?" shouted the whipper-in, in a fury.

Of course I have; but were you not all trying to kill him?" replied the poor man. He thought their only object had been to kill the jackal, as they would have killed a serpent, merely because he was a mischievous and noisy beast.

The European traveller in India is often in doubt whether the peacocks, partridges, and ducks, which he finds round populous villages, are tame or wild, till he asks some of the villagers themselves, so assured of safety do these creatures become, and so willing to take advantage of it for the food they find in the suburbs. They very soon find the difference, however, between the white-faced visitor, and the dark-faced inhabitants. There is a fine date tree over-hanging a kind of school at the end of one of the streets in the town of Jubbulpore, quite covered with the nests of the Baya birds; and they are seen every day and all day fluttering and chirping about them in scores, while the noisy children at their play fill the street below almost within arm's length of them. I have often thought that such a tree so peopled at the door of a school in England, might work a great revolution in the early habits and propensities of the youth educated in it. The European traveller is often amused to see the Pareaar dog

squatted close in front of the traveller, during the whole time, he is occupied in cooking and eating his dinner, under a tree by the road-side, assured that he shall have at least a part of the last cake thrown to him by the stranger, instead of a stick or a stone. The stranger regards him with complacency, as one that reposes a quiet confidence in his charitable disposition, and flings towards him the whole or part of his last cake, as if his meal had put him in the best possible humour with him and all the world.



CHAPTER XIX.

FEEDING PILGRIMS—MARRIAGE OF A STONE WITH A SHEEP.

AT Siedpore we encamped in a pretty little mango grove, and here I had a visit from my old friend Jankee Sawuk, the high priest of the great temple that projects into the Saugor Lake, and is called Bindrabun. He has two villages rent free, worth a thousand rupees a year; collects something more through his numerous disciples, who wander over the country; and spends the whole in feeding all the members of his fraternity, (Byragies,) devotees of Vishnoo, as they pass his temple in their pilgrimages. Every one who comes is considered entitled to a good meal and a night's lodging; and he has to feed and lodge about one hundred a day. He is a man of very pleasing manners and gentle disposition, and every body likes him. He was on his return from the town of Ludora, where he had been, at the invitation of the Rajah of Orcha, to assist at the celebration of the marriage of *Saligram* with the *Toolsee*, which there takes place every year under the auspices, and at the expense of the Rajah, who must be present. *Saligrams* are rounded pebbles which contain the impression of ammonites, and are washed down into the plains of India by the rivers from the lime-stone rocks in which these shells are imbedded in the mountains of the Himmalah. The Spcetee valley contains an immense deposit of fossil ammonites and bellamnites in lime-stone rocks, now elevated above sixteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; and from such beds as these are brought down the fragments, which, when rounded in their

course, the poor Hindoo takes for representations of Vishnoo, the preserving God of the Hindoo triad. The Saligram is the only stone idol among the Hindoos that is *essentially sacred*, and entitled to divine honours without the ceremonies of consecration ! It is everywhere held most sacred. During the war against Nepaul, Captain B., who commanded a reconnoitring party from the division in which I served, one day brought back to camp some four or five of these Saligramas, which he had found at the hut of some priest within the enemy's frontier. He called for a large stone and hammer, and proceeded to examine them. The Hindoos were all in a dreadful state of consternation, and expected to see the earth open and swallow up the whole camp, while he sat calmly cracking *their gods* with his hammer, as he would have cracked so many walnuts ! The Toolsee is a small sacred shrub (the *asylum sanctum*) which is a metamorphosis of Seeta, the wife of Ram, the seventh incarnation of Vishnoo.

This little *pebble* is every year married to this little *shrub* ; and the high priest told me, that on the present occasion the procession consisted of eight elephants, twelve hundred camels, four thousand horses, all mounted and elegantly caparisoned, On the leading elephant of this cortege, and the most sumptuously decorated, was carried the *pebble god*, who was taken to pay his bridal visit (Barat) to the little *shrub goddess* ! All the ceremonies of a regular marriage are gone through ; and when completed the bride and bridegroom are left to repose together in the temple of Ludora till the next season. "Above a hundred thousand people," the priest said, "were present at the ceremony this year at the Rajah's invitation, and feasted upon his bounty." The old man and I got into a conversation upon the characters of different governments, and their efforts upon the people ; and he said that bad governments would sooner or later be always put down by the deity ; and quoted this verse, which I took down with my pencil.

"Toolsee Ghurceb na Sufac
 Booree Ghurceb Kee hae;
 Muree Khal Kee phoonkse
 Loha Bhussam ho jae!"

"Oh, Rajah Toolsee! oppress not the poor; for the groans of the wretched bring retribution from heaven. The contemptible skin (in the smith's bellows) in time melts away the hardest iron."

On leaving our tents in the morning, we found the ground all round white with hoar frost, as we had found it for several mornings before; and a little canary-bird, one of the two which travelled in my wife's palankeen, having, by the carelessness of the servants, been put upon the top without any covering to the cage, was killed by the cold, to her great affliction. All attempts to restore it to life by the warmth of her bosom were fruitless.

On the 7th we came nine miles to Bumhoree over a soil still basaltic, though less rich, reposing upon syenite, which frequently rises and protrudes its head above the surface, which is partially and badly cultivated, and scantily peopled. The *silent* signs of bad government could not be more manifest! All the extensive plains, covered with fine long grass, which is rotting in the ground from want of domestic cattle or distant markets. Here, as in every other part of central India, the people have a great variety of good spontaneous, but few cultivated, grasses. They understand the character and qualities of these grasses extremely well. They find some thrive best in dry, and some in wet seasons; and that of inferior quality is often prized most because it thrives best when other kinds cannot thrive at all, from an excess or a deficiency of rain. When cut green, they all make good hay, and have the common denomination of *Saheea*. The finest of these grasses are two, which are generally found growing spontaneously together, and are often cultivated together—kele and musde; the third, purwana; fourth, bhowar or geoncear; fifth, seyna.

CHAPTER XX.

THE MEN-TIGERS.

RAM CHUND RAO, commonly called the Surreemunt, chief of Deoree, here overtook me. He came out from Saugor to visit me at Dhamoree, and not reaching that place in time came on after me. He held Deoree under the Peshwa, as the Saugor chief held Saugor, for the payment of the public establishments kept up for the local administration. It yielded him about ten thousand pounds a year, and when we took possession of the country he got an estate in the Saugor District, in rent-free tenure, estimated at fifteen hundred pounds a year. This is equal to about six thousand pounds a year in England. The tastes of native gentlemen lead them always to expend the greater part of their incomes in the wages of trains of followers of all descriptions, and in horses, elephants, &c.; and labour and the subsistence of labour are about four times cheaper in India than in England. By the breaking up of public establishments, and consequent diminution of the local demand for agricultural produce, the value of land throughout all central India, after the termination of the Mahratta war in 1817, fell by degrees thirty per cent.; and among the rest that of my poor friend the Surreemunt. While I had the civil charge of the Saugor district, in 1831, I represented this case of hardship; and government, in the spirit of liberality which has generally characterized their measures in this part of India, made up to him the difference between what he actually received and what they had intended to give him; and he has ever since felt grateful to me. He is a very

small man, not more than five feet high ; but he has the handsomest face I have almost ever seen ; and his manners are those of the most perfect native gentleman. He came to call upon me after breakfast, and the conversation turned upon the number of people that had of late been killed by tigers between Saugor and Deoree, his ancient capital, which lies about midway between Saugor and the Nerbudda river. One of his followers, who stood behind his chair, said, " that when a tiger had killed one man he was safe, for the spirit of the man rode upon his head, and guided him from all danger. The spirit knew very well that the tiger would be watched for many days at the place where he had committed the homicide, and always guided him off to some other more secure place, where he killed other men without any risk to himself. He did not exactly know why the spirit of the man should thus befriend the beast that had killed him ; but," added he, " there is a mischief inherent in spirits ; and the better the man the more mischievous is his ghost, if means are not taken to put him to rest." This is the popular and general belief throughout India ; and it is supposed, that the only sure mode of destroying a tiger, who has killed many people is, to begin by making offerings to the spirits of his victims, and thereby depriving him of their valuable services !* The belief that men are turned into tigers by eating of a root is no less general throughout India.

The Sureemunt, on being asked by me what he thought of the matter, observed, " there was no doubt much truth in what the man said ; but he was himself of opinion, that the tigers

* When Agrippina, in her rage with her son Nero, threatens to take her step-son, Britannicus, to the camp of the Legion, and there assert his right to the throne, she invokes the spirit of his father, whom she had poisoned, and the manes of the Silani, whom she had murdered. " Simul intendere manus, aggerere probra : consecratum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes invocare et tot inrita facindra."--Tacitus, lib. xiii. sec. 14.

which now infest the wood from Saugor to Deoree were of a different kind—in fact, that they were neither more nor less than men turned into tigers—a thing which took place in the woods of central India much more often than people were aware of. The only visible difference between the two,” added the Sureemunt, “is that the metamorphosed tiger has *no tail*, while the *bora*, or ordinary tiger, has a very long one. In the jungle about Deoree,” continued he, “there is a root which, if a man eat of, he is converted into a tiger on the spot; and if in this state he can eat of another, he becomes a man again—a melancholy instance of the former of which,” said he, “occurred, I am told, in my own father’s family when I was an infant. His washerman, Rughoo, was, like all washermen, a great drunkard; and being seized with a violent desire to ascertain what a man felt in the state of a tiger, he went one day to the jungle and brought home two of these roots, and desired his wife to stand by with one of them, and the instant she saw him assume the tiger’s shape, to thrust it into his mouth. She consented, the washerman ate his root, and became instantly a tiger; but his wife was so terrified at the sight of her old husband in this shape, that she ran off with the antidote in her hand. Poor old Rughoo took to the woods, and there ate a good many of his old friends from the neighbouring villages; but he was at last shot and recognized from the circumstance of his *having no tail*. You may be quite sure,” concluded Sureemunt, “when you hear of a tiger without a tail, that it is some unfortunate man who has eaten of that root—and of all the tigers he will be found the most mischievous.”

How my friend had satisfied himself of the truth of this story I know not, but he religiously believes it, and so do all his attendants and mine; and out of a population of thirty thousand people in the town of Saugor, not one would doubt the story of the washerman if he heard it.

I was one day talking with my friend, the Rajah of Myhere, on the road between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore, on the subject of the number of men who had been lately killed by tigers at the Kutra Pass on that road, and the best means of removing the danger. "Nothing," said the Rajah, "could be more easy or more cheap than the destruction of these tigers, if they were of the ordinary sort; but the tigers that kill men by wholesale, as these do, are, you may be sure, men themselves converted into tigers by the force of their *science*; and such animals are of all the most unmanageable."

"And how is it, Raja Sahib, that these men convert themselves into tigers?"

"Nothing," said he, "is more easy than this to persons who have once acquired the *science*; but how they learn it, or what it is, we unlettered men know not. There was once a high priest, of a large temple, in this very valley of Myhere, who was in the habit of getting himself converted into a tiger by the force of this *science*, which he had thoroughly acquired. He had a necklace, which one of his disciples used to throw over his neck the moment the tiger's form became fully developed. He had however, long given up the practice, and all his old disciples had, gone off on their pilgrimages to distant shrines, when he was one day seized with a violent desire to take his old form of the tiger. He expressed the wish to one of his new disciples, and demanded whether he thought he might rely upon his courage to stand by and put on the necklace. 'Assuredly you may,' said the disciple; 'such is my faith in you, and in the God we serve, that I fear nothing!' The high priest upon this put the necklace into his hand with the requisite instructions, and forthwith began to change his form. The disciple stood trembling in every limb, till he heard him give a roar that shook the whole edifice, when he fell flat upon his face, and dropped the necklace on the floor. The tiger bounded over him, and out at the door; and

infested all the roads leading to the temple for many years afterwards."

"Do you think, Rajah Sahib, that the old high priest is one of the tigers at the Kurra Pass?"

"No, I do not; but I think that they may be all men who have become imbued with a little too much of the high priest's *science*—when men once acquire this science they can't help exercising it, though it be to their own ruin and that of others."

"But, supposing them to be ordinary tigers, what is the simple plan you propose to put a stop to their depredations, Rajah Sahib?"

"I propose," said he, "to have the spirits that guide them propitiated by proper prayers and offerings; for the spirit of every man or woman who has been killed by a tiger rides upon his head, or runs before him, and tells him where to go to get prey, and to avoid danger. Get some of the Gonds, or wild people from the jungles, who are well skilled in these matters—give them ten or twenty rupees, and bid them go and raise a small shrine, and there sacrifice to these spirits. The Gonds will tell them that they shali, on this shrine, have regular worship, and good sacrifices of fowls, goats, and pigs, every year at least, if they will but relinquish their offices with the tigers and be quiet. If this is done, I pledge myself," said the Rajah, "that the tigers will soon get killed themselves, or cease from killing men. If they do not, you may be quite sure that they are not ordinary tigers, but men turned into tigers, or that the Gonds have appropriated all you gave them to their own use, instead of applying it to conciliate the spirits of the unfortunate people!"

CHAPTER XXI.

BURNING OF DEOREE BY A FREEBOOTER—A SUTTEE.

SUREMUNT had been one of the few who escaped from the flames which consumed his capital of Deoree, in the month of April, 1813, and were supposed to have destroyed thirty thousand souls. I asked him to tell me how this happened, and he referred me to his attendant, a learned old pundit, Ram Chund, who stood by his side, as he was himself, he said, then only five years of age, and could recollect nothing of it."

"Murdan Sing," said the pundit, "the father of Rajah Urjun Sing, whom you saw at Seoree, was then our neighbour, reigning over Gurha Kota ; and he had a worthless nephew, Zalim Sing, who had collected together an army of five thousand men, in the hope of getting a little principality for himself in the general scramble for dominion, incident upon the rise of the Pindarees and Ameer Khan, and the destruction of all balance of power among the great sovereigns of central India. He came to attack our capital, which was an emporium of considerable trade, and the seat of many useful manufactures, in the expectation of being able to squeeze out of us a good sum to aid him in his enterprise. While his troops blocked up every gate, fire was, by accident, set to the fence of some man's garden within. There had been no rain for six months ; and everything was so much dried up that the flames spread rapidly ; and though there was no wind when they began, it soon blew a gale. The Surreemunt was then a little boy with his mother, in the fortress, where she lived with his father and nine other relations. The

flames soon extended to the fortress, and the powder-magazine blew up. The house in which they lived was burnt down, and every soul, except the Sureemunt himself perished in it: His mother tried to bear him off in her arms, but fell down in her struggle to get out with him, and died. His nurse, Toolsee the Koormin, snatched him up, and ran with him outside of the fortress to the bank of the river, where she made him over, unhurt, to Hurreeram, the Murwaree merchant. He was mounted on a good horse, and making off across the river he carried him safely to his friends at Goorjamur; but poor Toolsee the Koormin fell down exhausted when she saw her charge safe, and died.

"The wind appeared to blow in upon the poor devoted city from every side; and the troops of Zalim Sing, who at first prevented the people from rushing out at the gates, made off in a panic at the horrors before them. All our establishments had been driven into the city at the approach of Zalim Sing's troops; and scores of elephants, hundreds of camels, and thousands of horses and ponies perished in the flames, besides twenty-five thousands sou's. Only about five thousand persons escaped out of thirty thousand, and these were reduced to beggary and wretchedness by the loss of their dearest relations, and their property. At the time the flames first began to spread, an immense crowd of people had assembled under the fortress on the bank of the Souar river, to see the widow of a soldier burn herself. Her husband had been shot by one of Zalim Sing's soldiers in the morning; and before midday she was by the side of his body on the funeral pile. People, as usual, begged her to tell them what would happen; and she replied, '*the city will know in less than four hours*;' in less than four hours the whole city had been reduced to ashes; and we all concluded, that since the event was so *clearly foretold*, it must have been decreed by God!"

"No doubt it was," said Sureemunt, "how could it otherwise happen? Do not all events depend upon his will? Had it not

been his will to save me, how could poor Toolsee the Koormin have carried me upon her shoulders through such a scene as this, when every other member of our family perished !”

“No doubt,” said Ram Chand, “all these things are brought about by the will of God ; and it is not for us to ask why.”

I have heard this event described by many other people ; and I believe the account of the old pundit to be a very fair one. One day in October, 1833, the horse of the district surgeon, Doctor Spry, as he was mounting him, reared, fell back with his head upon a stone, and died upon the spot. The doctor was not much hurt ; and the little Sureemunt called a few days after, and offered his congratulations upon his narrow escape. The cause of so quiet a horse rearing at this time, when he had never been known to do so before, was discussed ; and he said, “that there could be no doubt that the horse, or the doctor himself, must have seen some *unlucky face* before he mounted that morning—that he had been in many places in his life, but in none where a man was liable to see so many *ugly* or *unfortunate* faces ; and, for his part, he never left his house till an hour after sunrise, lest he should encounter them !”

Many natives were present, and every one seemed to consider the Sureemunt’s explanation of the cause quite satisfactory and philosophical. Some days after, Spry was going down to sleep in the bungalow where the accident happened. His native assistant, and all his servants, came and begged that he would not attempt to sleep in the bungalow, as they were sure the horse must have been frightened by a ghost ; and quoted several instances of ghosts appearing to people there. He, however, slept in the bungalow ; and, to their great astonishment, saw no ghost, and suffered no evil !

CHAPTER XXII.



INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH WHO MARRIES THE STONE WITH THE
SHRUB—ORDER OF THE MOON AND THE FISH.

ON the 8th, after a march of twelve miles, we reached Tehree, the present capital of the Rajah of Orcha. Our road lay over an undulating surface of soil composed of the detritus of sienitic rock, and poor both from its quality and want of depth. About three miles from our last ground we entered the boundary of the Orcha Rajah's territory, at the village of Aslone, which has a very pretty little fortified castle, built upon a ground slightly elevated in the midst of an open grass plain. This and all the villages we have lately passed are built upon the bare back of the syenitic rock, which seems to rise to the surface in large but gentle swells, like the broad waves of the ocean in a calm after a storm. A great difference appeared to me to be observable between the minds and manners of the people among whom we were now travelling, and those of the people of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. They seemed here to want the urbanity and intelligence we find among our subjects in the latter quarters. The apparent stupidity of the people when questioned upon points the most interesting to them, regarding their history, their agriculture, their tanks and temples, was most provoking; and their manners seemed to me to be more rude and clownish than those of people in any other part of India I had travelled over. I asked my little friend the Surceemunt, who rode with me, what he thought of this.

“I think,” said he, “that it arises from the harsh character of the government under which they live; it makes every man wish to appear a fool, in order that he may be thought a beggar, and not worth the plundering.”

“It strikes me, my friend Sureemunt, that their government has made them in reality the beggars and the fools that they appear to be.”

“God only knows,” said Sureemunt; “certain it is that they are neither in mind nor in manners what the people of our districts are.”

The Rajah had had no notice of our approach till intimation of it reached him at Ludora, the day before we came in. He was there resting and dismissing the people after the ceremonies of the marriage between the *Saligram* and the *Toolsee*. Ludora is twenty-seven miles north-west of Tehree, on the opposite side from that on which I was approaching. He sent off two men on camels with a khureeta, (letter,)* requesting that I would let him know my movements, and arrange a meeting in a manner that might prevent his appearing wanting in respect and hospitality: that is, in plain terms, which he was too polite to use, that I would consent to remain one stage from his capital, till he could return and meet me halfway, with all due pomp and ceremony. These men reached me at Bumboree, a distance of thirty-nine miles, in the evening; and I sent back a khureeta, which reached him by relays of camels before midnight. He set out for his capital to receive me; and as I would not wait to be met half way in due form, he reached his palace, and we reached our tents at

* A khureeta is a letter enclosed in a bag of rich brocade, contained in another of fine muslin. The mouth is tied with a string of silk, to which hangs suspended the great seal, which is a flat round mass of sealing-wax, with the seal impressed on each side of it. This is the kind of letter which passes between natives of great rank in India, and between them and the public functionaries of government.

the same time, under a salute, from his two brass field-pieces.

We halted at Tehree on the 9th, and about eleven o'clock the Rajah came to pay his visit of congratulation, with a magnificent cortoge of elephants, camels, and horses, all mounted and splendidly caparisoned, and the noise of his band was deafening. I had had both my tents pitched, and one of them handsomely fitted up, as it always is, for occasions of ceremony like the present. He came to within twenty paces of the door on his elephant, and from its back, as it sat down, he entered his splendid litter without alighting on the ground. In this vehicle he was brought to my tent door, where I received him; and, after the usual embraces, conducted him up through two rows of chairs placed for his followers of distinction and my own, who are always anxious to assist in ceremonies like these.

At the head of this lane we sat upon chairs placed across and facing down the middle of the two rows; and we conversed upon all the subjects usually introduced on such occasions; but more especially upon the august ceremonies of the marriage of the *Saligram* with the *Toolsee*, in which His Highness had been so *piously engaged* at Ludora! After he had sat with me an hour and a half he took his leave; and I conducted him to the door whence he was carried to his litter, from which he mounted without touching the ground.

This litter is called a Nalkee. It is one of the three great insignia which the Mogul Emperors of Delhi conferred upon independent princes of the first class, and could never be used by any person upon whom, or upon whose ancestors they had not been so conferred. These were the Nalkee, the order of the Fish and the fan of the peacock's feathers. These insignia could be used only by the prince who inherited the sovereignty of the one on whom they had been originally conferred. The order of the fish, or Mahee Moratub, was first instituted by Khoosroo Purweh King of Persia, and grandson of the celebrated Nowsherwan the

Just. Having been deposed by his general, Behram, Khoosroo fled for the protection to the Greek emperor, Maurice, whose daughter Shecreen, he married; and he was sent back to Persia, with an army under the command of Narsez, who placed him upon the throne of his ancestors in the year A.D. 591.* He ascertained from his astrologer, Aruz Khushusp, that when he ascended the throne the moon was in the constellation of the Fish, and he gave orders to have two balls made of polished steel, which were to be called Koukubas, (planets,) and mounted on long poles. These two planets, with a large fish made of gold, upon a third pole in the centre, were ordered to be carried in all regal processions immediately after the king, and before the prime minister, whose cortege always followed immediately after that of the king. The two Koukubas are now generally made of copper, and plated, and in the shape of a jar, instead of quite round, as at first; but the fish is still made of gold. Two planets are always considered necessary to one fish; and they carried in all processions between the prince and his prime minister.

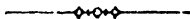
The court of this Prince Khoesroo Purwez, was celebrated throughout the East for its splendour and magnificence; and the chaste love of the poet, Furhad, for his beautiful queen, Shecreen, is the theme of almost as many poems in the East, as that of Petrarch's for Laura is in the west. Noosamane, who ascended the throne of Persia after the Sassanians, ascertained that the moon was in the sign Leo at the time of his accession, and ordered that the gold head of a lion should thenceforward accompany the fishes, and the two balls, in all royal processions. The Persian order of knighthood is, therefore, that of the Fish, the Moon, and the Lion, and not the Lion and Sun, as generally

* During the time he remained the guest of the Emperor he resided at Hierapolis, and did not visit Constantinople. The Greeks do not admit that Shecreen was the daughter of Maurice, though a Roman by birth, and a Christian by religion. The Persians and Turks speak of her as the Emperor's daughter.

supposed. The emperors of the house of Timour, in Hindoostan, assumed the right of conferring the order upon all they pleased ; and they conferred it upon the great territorial sovereigns of the country without distinction as to religion. He only who inherits the sovereignty can wear the order ; and I believe no prince would venture to wear or carry the order who was not generally reputed to have received the investiture from one of the emperors of Delhi.

As I could not wait another day, it was determined that I should return his visit in the afternoon ; and about four o'clock we set out upon our elephant, Lieutenant Thomas, Sureemunt, and myself, attended by all my troopers and those of Sureemunt. We had our silver-stick men with us ; but still all made a sorry figure compared with the splendid cortege of the Rajah. We dismounted at the foot of the stairs leading to the Rajah's hall of audience, and were there met by his two chief officers of state, who conducted us to the entrance of the hall, where we were received by the Rajah himself, who led us up through two rows of chairs laid out exactly as mine had been in the morning. In front were assembled a party of native comedians, who exhibited a few scenes of the insubordination of office in the attendants of great men, and the obtrusive importunity of place-seekers, in a manner that pleased us much more than a dance would have done. Conversation was kept up very well ; and the visit passed off without any feeling of ennui, or any thing whatever to recollect with regret. The ladies looked at us from their apartments through gratings, and without our being able to see them very distinctly. We were anxious to see the tombs of the late Rajah, the elder brother of the present, who lately died, and that of his son, which are in progress in a very fine garden outside the city walls, and in consequence we did not sit above half an hour. The Rajah conducted us to the head of the stairs, and the same two officers attended us to the bottom, and mounted their horses and

accompanied us to the tombs. After the dust of the town, raised by the immense crowd that attended us, and the ceremonies of the day, a walk in this beautiful garden was very agreeable; and I prolonged it till dark. The Rajah had given orders to have all the cisterns filled during our stay, under the impression that we should wish to see the garden; and as soon as we entered, the jet d'eau poured into the air their little floods from a hundred mouths. Our old cicerone told us, "that if we would take the old capital of Orcha in our way, we might there see the thing in perfection; and amidst the deluges of the rain of *Sawun* and *Bhado*, (July and August,) see the lightning and hear the thunder." The Rajahs of this, the oldest principality in Bundelcund, were all formerly buried or burned at the old capital of Orcha, even after they had changed their residence to Tehree. These tombs, over the ashes of the Rajah, his wife, and son, are the first that have been built at Tehree, where their prosperity are all to repose in future.



CHAPTER XXIII.



THE RAJAH OF ORCHA—MURDER OF HIS MANY MINISTERS.

THE present Rajah, Muthcora-dass, succeeded his brother, Bikurmaject, who died in 1834. He had made over the government to his only son, Rajah Bahadur, whom he almost adored ; but the young man dying some years before him, the father resumed the reins of the government, and held them till his death. He was a man of considerable capacity, but of a harsh and unscrupulous character. His son resembled him ; but the present Rajah is a man of mild temper and disposition, though of weak intellect. The fate of the last three prime ministers will show the character of the Rajah and his son ; and the nature of their rule.

The minister at the time the old man made over the reigns of government to his son, was Khaujoo Purohut. Wishing to get rid of him a few years after, this son, Rajah Bahadur, employed, Mohrum Sing, one of his feudal Rajpoot barons, to assassinate him. As a reward for this service he received the seals of office ; and the Rajah confiscated all the property of the deceased, amounting to four lacks of rupees ; and resumed the whole of the estates held by the family. The young Rajah died soon after ; and his father, when he resumed the reigns of government, wishing to remove the new minister, got him assassinated by Gumbeer Sing, another feudal Rajpoot baron, who, as his reward, received in his turn the seals of office. This man was a most atrocious villain, and employed the public establishments of his

chief to plunder travellers on the high road. In 1833 his followers robbed four men who were carrying treasure, to the amount of ten thousand rupees, from Saugor to Jansce, through Tehree, and intended to murder them; but, by the sagacity of one of the party, and a lucky accident, they escaped, made their way back to Saugor, and complained to the magistrate. That minister discovered the nature of their burdens as they lodged at Tehree, on their way, and sent after them a party of soldiers, with orders to put them in the bed of a rivulet, that separated the territory of Orcha from that of the Jansce Rajah. One of the treasure party discovered their object; and on reaching the bank of the rivulet, in a deep grass jungle, he threw down his burden, dashed unperceived through the grass, and reached a party of travellers whom he saw ascending a hill about half a mile in advance. The myrmidons of the minister, when they found that one had escaped, were afraid to murder the others, but took their treasure. In spite of great obstacles, and with much danger to the families of three of those men, who resided in the capital of Tehree, the magistrate of Saugor brought the crime home to the minister; and the Rajah, anxious to avail himself of the occasion to fill his coffers, got him assassinated. The Rajah was then about eighty years of age; and his minister was a strong, athletic, and brave man. One morning while he was sitting with him in private conversation, the former pretended a wish to drink some of the water in which his household god had been washed, (the Churna mirt,*) and begged the minister to go and fetch it from

* The water of the Ganges, with which the image of the god Vishnoo has been washed, is considered a very holy draught, fit for princes. That with which the image of the god Sewa, alias Mahadeo, is washed, must not be drunk. The popular belief is, that in a dispute between him and his wife, alias Kalee, she cursed the person that should thenceforward dare to drink of the water that flowed over his images on earth. The river Ganges is supposed to flow from the top-knot of Sewa's head, and no one would drink of it after

the place where it stood by the side of the idol in the court of the palace. As a man cannot take his sword before the idol, the minister put it down, as the Rajah knew he would, and going to the idol, prostrated himself before it preparatory to taking away the water. In that state he was cut down by Bearer, another feudal Rajpoot baron, who aspired to the seals, and some of his friends, who had been placed there on purpose by the Rajah. He obtained the seals by his service, and as he was allowed to place one brother in command of the forces, and to make another chamberlain, he hoped to retain them longer than any of his predecessors had done. Gumber Singh's brother, Jhojhar Singh, and the husband of his sister, hearing of his murder, made off, but were soon pursued and put to death. The widows were all three put into prison, and the property and estates were confiscated. The moveable property amounted to three lacks of rupees. The Rajah boasted to the Governor-general's representative in Bundelcund, of this act of retributive justice, and pretended that it was executed merely as a punishment for the robbery : but it was with infinite difficulty the merchants could recover from him any share of the plundered property out of that confiscated. The Rajah alleged, that, according to our *rules*, the chief, within whose boundary the robbery might have been committed, was obliged to make good the property. On inspection, it was found, that the robbery was perpetrated upon the very boundary line, and "*in spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,*" the Janssee Rajah was made to pay one-half of the plundered treasure !

The old Rajah, Bikurnajeet, died in June 1834 ; and though his death had been some time expected, he no sooner breathed

this curse, were it not that the sacred stream is supposed to come first from the *heel* of Vishnoo, the Preserver. All the little images of Sewa, that are made out of stones taken from the bed of the Nerbudda river, are supposed to be absolved from this curse, and water drawn upon them can be drunk with impunity.

his last than charges of *Deenae*, slow poison, were got up as usual in the Zenana, (seraglio.) Here the widow of Rajah Bahadur, a violent and sanguinary woman, was supreme ; and she persuaded the present Rajah, a weak old man, to take advantage of the funeral ceremonies, to avenge the death of his brother. He did so ; and Beearce, and his three brothers, with above fifty of his relations, were murdered. The widows of the four brothers were the only members of all the families left alive. One of them had a son four months old ; another one of two years ; the four brothers had no other children. Immediately after the death of their husbands, the two children were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and threatened with instant death unless their mothers pointed out all their ornaments and other property. They did so ; and the spoilers having got from them property to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, and been assured that there was no more, threw the children over the high wall, by which they were dashed to pieces. The poor widows were tendered as wives to four sweepers, the lowest of all low castes ; but the tribe of sweepers would not suffer any of its members to take the widows of men of such high caste and station as wives, notwithstanding the tempting offer of five hundred rupees as a present, and a village in rent free tenure ! I secured a promise while at Tehree, that these poor widows should be provided for, as they had, up to that time, been preserved by the good feeling of a little community of the lowest of castes, on whom they had been bestowed as a punishment worse than death, inasmuch as it would disgrace the whole clan to which they belonged, the Purheear Rajpoots.

Tehree is a wretched town, without one respectable dwelling-house tenanted beyond the palace, or one merchant, or even shop-keeper of capital and credit. There are some tolerable houses unoccupied and in ruins ; and there are a few neat temples built as tombs, or cenotaphs, in and around the city, if city it can be

called. The stables and accommodations for all public establishments seem to be all in the same ruinous state as the dwelling-houses. The revenues of the state are spent in feeding Brahmans and religious mendicants of all kinds; and in such idle ceremonies as those at which the Rajah and all his court have just been assisting—ceremonies which concentrate for a few days the most useless of the people of India, the devotee followers (Byragees) of the god Vishnoo, and tend to no purpose, either useful or ornamental, to the state or to the people.

This marriage of a *stone* to a *shrub*, which takes place every year, is supposed to cost the Rajah, at the most moderate estimate, two lacks of rupees a-year, or one-third of his annual revenue.* The highest officers, of which his government is composed, receive small beggarly salaries, hardly more than sufficient for their bare subsistence; and the money they make by indirect means they dare not spend like gentlemen, lest the Rajah might be tempted to take their lives in order to get hold of it. All his feudal barons are of the same tribe as himself, that is, Rajpoots; but they are divided into three clans—Bondelas, Powars, and Dhundeles. A Bondela cannot marry a woman of his own clan, he must take a wife from the Powars or the Dhundeles; and so of the other two clans—no member of one can take a wife from his own clan, but must go to one of the other two for her. They are very much disposed to fight with each other, but not less are they disposed to unite against any third party, not of the same tribe. Braver men do not, I believe, exist than the Rajpoots of Bundelcund, who all carry their swords from their infancy.

It may be said of the Rajpoots of Malwa and central India generally, that the Mogul Emperors of Delhi made the same use of them, that the Emperors of Germany and the Popes made of

* Wealthy Hindoos, throughout India, spend money in the same ceremonies of marrying the *stone* to the *shrub*.

the military chiefs and classes of Europe during the middle ages. Industry and the peaceful arts being reduced to agriculture alone, under bad government or no government at all, the land remained the only thing worth appropriating; and it accordingly became appropriated by those alone who had the power to do so — by the Hindoo military classes collected around the heads of their clans, and powerful in their union. These held it under the paramount power on the feudal tenure of military service, as militia; or it was appropriated by the paramount power itself, who let it out on allodial tenure to peaceful peasantry. The one was the Zemindaree, and the other the Malgoozaree tenure of India.* The military chiefs, essentially either soldiers or robbers, were continually fighting, either against each other, or against the peasantry, or public officers of the paramount power, like the barons of Europe; and that paramount power, or its delegates, often found that the easiest way to crush one of these refractory vassals was to put him, as such men had been put in Germany, to *the ban of the empire*, and offer his lands, his castles, and his wealth to the victor. This victor brought his own clansmen to occupy the lands and castles of the vanquished; and as these were the only things thought worth living for, the change commonly involved the utter destruction of the former occupants. The new possessors gave the name of their leader, their clan, or their former place of abode, to their new possession, and the tract of country over which they

* The paramount power often assigned a portion of its reserved lands in Jagheer to public officers for the payment of the establishments they required for the performance of the duties, military or civil, which were expected from them. Other portions were assigned in rent free tenure for services already performed, or to favourites; but in both cases the rights of the village or landowner, or allodial proprietors, were supposed to be unaffected, as the government was presumed to assign only its own claim to a certain portion of revenue.

spread. Thus were founded the Bondelas, Powars, and Dhundeles, upon the ruin of the Dhundeles in Bundelcund, the Boghelas in Boghelcund, or Rewa, the Kuchwahs, the Sukurwais, and others along the Chumbul river, and throughout all parts of India. These classes have never learnt anything, or considered anything worth learning, but the use of the sword; and a Rajpoot chief, next to leading a gang of his own on great enterprises, delights in nothing so much as having a gang or two, under his patronage, for little ones. There is hardly a single chief, of the Hindoo military class, in the Bundelcund, or Gwalior territories, who does not keep a gang of robbers of some kind or other, and consider it as a very valuable and legitimate source of revenue; or who would not embrace with cordiality the leader of a gang of assassins by profession, who should bring him home from every expedition a good horse, a good sword, or a valuable pair of shawls, taken from their victims. It is much the same in the kingdom of Oude, where the lands are for the most part held by the same Hindoo military classes, who are in a continual state of war with each other, or with the government authorities. Three-fourths of the recruits for native infantry regiments are from this class of military agriculturists of Oude, who have been trained up in this school of contest; and many of the lads, when they enter our ranks, are found to have marks of the cold steel upon their persons. A braver set of men is hardly anywhere to be found; or one trained up with fine feelings of devotion towards the power whose salt they eat. A good many of the other fourth of the recruits for our native infantry, are drawn from among the Oujejnee Rajpoots, or Rajpoots from Oujejn, who were established many generations ago in the same manner at Bhajpore on the bank of the Ganges.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CORN DEALERS—SCARCITIES—FAMINES IN INDIA.

NEAR Tehree we saw the people irrigating a field of wheat from a tank, by means of a canoe, in a mode quite new to me. The surface of the water was about three feet below that of the field to be watered. The inner end of the canoe was open, and placed to the mouth of a gutter leading into the wheat-field. The outer end was closed, and suspended by a rope to the outer end of a pole, which was again suspended to cross bars. On the inner end of this pole was fixed a weight of stones sufficient to raise the canoe when filled with water; and at the outer end stood five men who pulled down and sunk the canoe into the water as often as it was raised by the stones, and emptied into the gutter. The canoe was more curved at the outer end than ordinary canoes are; and seemed to have been made for the purpose. The lands round the town generally were watered by the Persian wheel; but where it is near the surface this I should think a better method.

On the 10th we came on to the village of Bilgace, twelve miles over a bad soil badly cultivated; the hard syenitic rock rising either above or near to the surface all the way—in some places abruptly, in small hills, decomposing into large rounded boulders—in others slightly and gently, like the backs of whales in the ocean—in others, the whole surface of the country resembled very much the face of the sea, not after but really in a storm, full of waves of all sizes, contending with each other “in most admired disorder.” After the dust of Tehree, and the fatiguing

ceremonies of its court, the quiet morning I spent in this secluded spot, under the shade of some beautiful trees, with the surviving canary singing, my boy playing, and my wife sleeping off the fatigues of her journey, was to me most delightful. Henry was extremely ill when we left Jubbulpore ; but the change of air, and all the other changes incident to a march, have restored him to health.

During the scarcity of 1833, two hundred people died of starvation in the village of Bilgace alone ; and were all thrown into one large well which has, of course, ever since remained closed. Autumn crops chiefly are cultivated ; and they depend entirely on the sky for water, while the poor people of the village depend upon the returns of a single season for subsistence during the whole year. They lingered on in the hope of aid from above till the greater part had become too weak from want of food to emigrate. The Rajah gave half-a-crown to every family ; but this served merely to kindle their hopes of more, and to prolong their misery. Till the people have a better government they can never be secure from frequent returns of similar calamities. Such security must depend upon a greater variety of crops, and better means of irrigation ; better roads to bring supplies over from distant parts which have not suffered from the same calamities ; and greater means in reserve of paying for such supplies when brought—things that can never be hoped for under a government like this, which allows no man the free enjoyment of property. Close to the village a large wall has been made to unite two small hills, and form a small lake ; but the wall is formed of the rounded boulders of the syenitic rock, without cement, and does not retain the water. The land which was to have formed the bed of the lake is all in tillage ; and I had some conversation with the man who cultivated it. He told me, “That the wall had been built with the money of *sin* and not the money of *piety*, (*pap kee pysa se, na poon kee pysa se buna*), that the man who

built it must have laid out his money with a *worldly*, and not a *religious* mind, (necat); that, on such occasions, men generally assembled Brahmans and other deserving people, and fed and clothed them, and thereby *consecrated* a great work, and made it acceptable to God, and he had heard from his ancestors, that the man who had built this wall had failed to do this; that the construction could never, of course, answer the purpose for which it was intended—and that the builder's name had actually been forgotten, and the work did him no good either in this world or the next!" This village, which a year or two ago was large and populous, is now reduced to two wretched huts inhabited by two very miserable families.

Bundelcund suffers more often and more severely from the want of seasonable showers of rain than any other part of India; while the province of Malwa, which adjoins it to the west and south, hardly ever suffers at all. There is a couplet, which, like all other good couplets on rural subjects, is attributed to Sehdeo, one of the five demigod brothers of the Mahabburat, to this effect: "If you hear not the thunder on such a night, you, father, go to Malwa, I to Gozerat!" that is, there will be no rain, and we must seek subsistence where rains never fail; and the harvests are secure.

The province of Malwa is well studded with hills and groves of fine trees which intercept the clouds, as they are wafted by the prevailing westerly winds, from the gulf of Cambay to the valley of the Ganges; and make them drop their contents upon a soil of great natural powers, formed chiefly from the detritus of the decomposing basaltic rocks, which cap and intersect these hills.

During the famine of 1833, as on all similar occasions, grain of every kind, attracted by high prices, flowed up in large streams from this favoured province towards Bundelcund; and the population of Bundelcund, as usual in such times of dearth and

in other countries—such as the living feeding on the dead, and mothers devouring their own children. No such things are witnessed in Indian famines: here all who suffer attribute the disaster to its real cause, the want of rain in due season; and indulge in no feelings of hatred against their rulers, superiors, or more fortunate equals in society, who happen to live beyond the influence of calamities. They gratefully receive the superfluities which the more favoured are always found ready to share with the afflicted in India; and though their sufferings often subdue the strongest of all pride, the pride of caste, they rarely ever drive the people to acts of violence. The stream of emigration, guided as it always is by that of the agricultural produce flowing in from the more favoured countries, must necessarily concentrate upon the communities along the line it takes, a greater number of people than they have the means of relieving, however benevolent their dispositions; and I must say, that I have never either seen or read of a nobler spirit than seems to animate all classes of these communities in India on such distressing occasions.

In such seasons of distress we often, in India, hear of very injudicious interference with grain dealers on the part of civil and military authorities, who contrive to persuade themselves, that the interest of these corn-dealers, instead of being in accordance with the interests of the people, are entirely opposed to them; and conclude, that whenever grain becomes dear they have a right to make them open their granaries, and sell their grain at such price as they, *in their wisdom*, may deem reasonable. If they cannot make them do this by persuasion, fine or imprisonment, they cause their pits to be opened by their own soldiers or native officers, and the grain to be sold at their own arbitrary price. If in a hundred pits thus opened, they find one in which the corn happens to be damaged by damp, they come to the sage conclusion, that the proprietors must be what they have all along supposed them to be, and treated as such,

the common enemies of mankind, who, blind alike to their own interests and those of the people, purchase up the superabundance of seasons of plenty, not to sell it again in seasons of scarcity, but *to destroy it*; and that the whole of the grain in the other ninety-nine pits, but for their *timely interference*, must have inevitably shared the same fate!

During the season here mentioned, grain had become very dear at Saugor, from the unusual demand in Bundelcund and other districts to the north. As usual, supplies of land produce flowed up from the Nerbudda districts along the great roads to the east and west of the city; but the military authorities in the cantonments would not be persuaded out of their dread of a famine. There were three regiments of infantry, a corps of cavalry, and two companies of artillery, cantoned at that time at Saugor. They were a mile from the city; and the grain for their supply was exempted from town duties to which that for the city was liable. The people in cantonments got their supply, in consequence, a good deal cheaper than the people in the city got theirs; and none but persons belonging bona fide to the cantonments were ever allowed to purchase grain within them. When the dread of famine began, the commissariat officer, Major Gregory, apprehended that he might not be permitted to have recourse to the markets of the city in times of scarcity, since the people of the city had not been suffered to have recourse to those of the cantonments in times of plenty; but he was told by the magistrate, to purchase as much as he liked, since he considered every man as free to sell his grain as his cloth, or pots and pans, to whom he chose. He added that he did not share in the fears of the military authorities—that he had no apprehension whatever of a famine, for when prices rose high enough, they would be sure to divert away into the city from the streams then flowing up from the valley of the Nerbudda, and the districts of Mulwa towards Bundelcund, a supply of grain sufficient for all.

scarcity, flowed off towards Malwa against the stream of supply, under the assurance, that the nearer they got to the source, the greater would be their chance of employment and subsistence. Every village had its numbers of the dead and the dying; and the roads were all strewn with them; but they were mostly concentrated upon the great towns, and civil and military stations, where subscriptions were open for their support by both the European and native communities. The funds arising from these subscriptions lasted till the rains had set fairly in, when all able-bodied persons could easily find employment in tillage among the agricultural communities of villages around. After the rains have fairly set in the *sick* and *helpless* only should be kept concentrated upon large towns and stations, where little or no employment is to be found; for the oldest and youngest of those who are able to work can then easily find employment in weeding the cotton, rice, sugar-cane, and other fields under autumn crops, and in preparing the lands for the reception of the wheat, grain, and other spring seeds; and get advances from the farmers, agricultural capitalists, and other members of the village communities, who are all glad to share their superfluities with the distressed, and to pay liberally for the little service they are able to give in return.

It is very unwise to give from such funds what may be considered a *full rate* of subsistence to able-bodied persons, as it tends to keep concentrated upon such points vast numbers who would otherwise be scattered over the surface of the country among the village communities, who would be glad to advance them stock and the means of subsistence upon the pledge of their future services when the season of tillage commences. The rate of subsistence should always be something less than what the able-bodied person usually consumes, and can get for his labour in the field. For the sick and feeble this rate will be enough, and the healthy and able-bodied, with unimpaired appetites, will seek a greater rate by the offer of their services among the farmers

and cultivators of the surrounding country. By this precaution, the mass of suffering will be gradually diffused over the country, so as best to receive what the country can afford to give for its relief. As soon as the rains set in, all the able-bodied men, women, and children, should be sent off with each a good blanket, and a rupee or two as the funds can afford, to last them till they can engage themselves with the farmers. Not a farthing after that day should be given out except to the feeble and sick, who may be considered as hospital patients.

At large places, where the greater numbers are concentrated, the scene becomes exceedingly distressing, for in spite of the best dispositions and greatest efforts on the part of government and its officers, and the European and native communities, thousands commonly die of starvation. At Saugor, mothers, as they lay in the streets unable to walk, were seen holding up their infants, and imploring the passing stranger to take them in slavery, that they might at least live—hundreds were seen creeping into gardens, court-yards, and ruins, concealing themselves under shrubs, grass, mats, or straw, where they might die quietly, without having their bodies torn by birds and beasts before the breath had left them! Respectable families, who left home in search of the favoured land of Malwa, while yet a little property remained, finding all exhausted, took opium rather than beg, and husband, wife, and children, died in each other's arms! Still more of such families lingered on in hope till all had been expended; then shut their doors, took poison, and died altogether, rather than expose their misery, and submit to the degradation of begging. All these things I have myself known and seen; and in the midst of these and a hundred other harrowing scenes which present themselves on such occasions, the European cannot fail to remark the patient resignation with which the poor people submit to their fate; and the absence of almost all those revolting acts which have characterized the famines of which he has read

the injury done to the corn-dealers by so very unwise a measure would have recoiled upon the public, since every one would have been discouraged from exerting himself to renew the supply, and from laying up stores to meet similar necessities in future. By acting as he did, he not only secured for the public the best exertions of all the existing corn-dealers of the place, but actually converted for the time a great many to that trade from other employments, or from idleness. A great many families, who had never traded before, employed their means in bringing a supply of grain; and converted their dwelling-houses into corn-shops, induced by the high profits and assurance of protection. During the time when he was most pressed, the magistrate received a letter from Captain Robinson, who was in charge of the bazars at Elichpore, in the Hyderabad territory, where the dearth had become even more felt than at Saugor, requesting to know what measures had been adopted to regulate the price, and secure the supply of grain for the city and cantonments at Saugor, since no good seemed to result from those hitherto pursued at Elichpore. He told him in reply, "That these things had hitherto been regulated at Saugor as we thought they ought to be regulated everywhere else, by being left entirely to the discretion of the corn-dealers themselves, whose self-interest will always prompt them to have a sufficient supply, as long as they may feel secure of being permitted to do what they please with what they collect. The commanding officer, in his anxiety to secure food for the people, had hitherto been continually interfering to coerce sales, and regulate prices; and continually aggravating the evils of the dearth by so doing." On the receipt of the Saugor magistrate's letter, a different course was adopted; the same assurances were given to the corn-dealers, the same ability and inclination to enforce them manifested, and the same results followed. The people and the troops were steadily supplied; and all were astonished that so very simple a remedy had not before

been thought of.

The ignorance of the first principles of political economy among European gentlemen of otherwise first-rate education and abilities in India, is quite lamentable; for there are really few public officers even in the army, who are not occasionally liable to be placed in situations where they may, by false measures, arising out of such ignorance, aggravate the evils of dearth among great bodies of their fellow-men. A soldier may, however, find some excuse for such ignorance, because a knowledge of these principles are not generally considered to form any indispensable part of a soldier's education; but no excuse can be admitted for a civil functionary who is so ignorant, since a thorough acquaintance with the principles of political economy must be, and indeed always is considered, as an essential branch of that knowledge which is to fit him for public employment in India.

In India, unfavourable seasons produce much more disastrous consequences than in Europe. In England, not more than one-fourth of the population derive their incomes from the cultivation of the lands around them. Three-fourths of the people have incomes, independent of the annual returns from those lands; and with these incomes they can purchase agricultural produce from other lands when the crops upon them fail. The farmers, who form so large a portion of the fourth class, have stock equal in value to *four times the amount of the annual rent of their lands*. They have also a great variety of crops; and it is very rare that more than one or two of them fail, or are considerably affected, the same season. If they fail in one district or province, the deficiency is very easily supplied to a people who have equivalents to give for the produce of another. The sea, navigable rivers, fine roads, all are open and ready at all times for the transport of the superabundance of one quarter to supply the deficiencies of another. In India, the reverse of all this is unhappily everywhere to be found; more than three-fourths of the

This new demand upon the city increased rapidly the price of grain, and augmented the alarm of the people, who began to urge the magistrate to listen to their prayers, and coerce the sordid corn-dealers who had, no doubt, numerous pits yet unopened. The alarm became still greater in the cantonments, where the commanding officer attributed all the evil to the inefficiency of the commissariat, and the villany of the corn-dealers; and Major Gregory was in dread of being torn to pieces by the soldiery. Only one day's supply was left in the cantonment bazars—the troops had become clamorous almost to a state of mutiny—the people of the town began to rush in upon every supply that was offered for sale; and those who had grain to dispose of could no longer venture to expose it. The magistrate was hard pressed on all sides to have recourse to the salutary method of searching for, and forcibly opening the grain pits, and selling the contents at such price as might appear reasonable. The cotwall of the town declared, that the lives of his police would be no longer safe unless this great and never-failing remedy, which had now unhappily been too long deferred, were immediately adopted.

The magistrate, who had already taken every other means of declaring his resolution never to suffer any man's granary to be forcibly opened, now issued a formal proclamation, pledging himself to see, that such granaries should be as much respected as any other property in the city—that every man might keep his grain and expose it for sale wherever and whenever he pleased; and expressing a hope, that, as the people knew him too well not to feel assured that his word thus solemnly pledged would never be broken, he trusted they would sell what stores they had, and apply themselves without apprehension to the collecting of more! This proclamation he showed to Major Gregory, assuring him, that no degree of distress or clamour among the people of the city or cantonments should ever make him violate the pledge

therein given to the corn-dealers ; and that he was prepared to risk his situation and reputation as a public officer upon the result. After issuing this proclamation, about noon, he had his police establishments augmented, and so placed and employed as to give to the people entire confidence in the assurances conveyed in it. The grain-dealers, no longer apprehensive of danger, opened their pits of grain, and sent off all their available means to bring in more. In the morning the bazars were all supplied ; and every man who had money could buy as much as he pleased. The troops got as much as they required from the city. Major Gregory was astonished and delighted ; the cotwal, a fine old soldier from the banks of the Indus, who had commanded a corps of horse under the former government, came to the magistrate in amazement ; every shop had become full of grain as if by supernatural agency. “ Kala admee ka akul kahan tuluk chule ga,” said he, “ How little could a black man’s wisdom serve him in such an emergency ! ”

There was little wisdom in all this ; but there was a firm reliance upon the truth of the general principle which should guide all public officers on such occasions. The magistrate judged, that there were a great many pits of grain in the town known only to their own proprietors—who were afraid to open them, or get more grain, while there was a chance of the civil authorities yielding to the clamours of the people and the anxiety of the officers commanding the troops ; and that he had only to remove fears, by offering a solemn pledge, and manifesting the means and the will to abide by it, in order to induce the proprietors not only to sell what they had, but to apply all their means to the collecting of more. But it is a singular fact, that almost all the officers of the cantonments thought the conduct of the magistrate, in refusing to have the grain pits opened under such pressing circumstances extremely reprehensible. Had he done so he might have given the people of the city and the cantonments the supply at hand ; but

whole population are engaged in the cultivation of the land, and depend upon its annual returns for subsistence. The farmers and cultivators have none of them stock equal in value to more than *half the amount of the annual rents of their lands*. They have a great variety of crops ; but all are exposed to the same accidents, and commonly fail at the same time. The autumn crops are sown in June and July, and ripen in October and November ; and if seasonable showers do not fall during July, August, and September, all fail. The spring-crops are sown in October and November, and ripen in March ; and if seasonable showers do not happen to fall during December or January, all, save what are artificially irrigated, fail. If they fail in one district or province, the people have few equivalents to offer for a supply of land produce from any other. Their roads are scarcely anywhere passable for wheeled-carriages at *any season*, and no where at *all seasons*—they have nowhere a navigable canal, and only in one line a navigable river. Their land produce is conveyed upon the backs of bullocks, that move at the rate of six or eight miles a day, and add one hundred per cent. to the cost of every hundred miles they carry it in the best seasons, and more than two hundred in the worst. What in Europe is felt merely as a *dearth*, becomes in India, under all these disadvantages, a *scarcity* ; and what is there a *scarcity*, becomes here a *famine*. Tens of thousands die here of starvation, under calamities of season, which in Europe would involve little of suffering to any class. Here man does everything : and he must have his daily food or starve. In England, machinery does more than three-fourths of the collective work of the society in the production, preparation, and distribution of man's physical enjoyments, and it stands in no need of this daily food to sustain its powers : they are independent of the seasons ; the water, fire, air, and other elemental powers, which they require to render them subservient to our use, are always available in abundance.

This machinery is the great assistant of the present generation, provided for us by the wisdom and the industry of the past ; wanting no food it-elf, it can always provide its proprietors with the means of purchasing what they require from other countries, when the harvests of their own fail. When calamities of season deprive men of employment for a time in tillage, they can, in England, commonly find it in other branches of industry, because agricultural industry forms so small a portion of the collective industry of the nation ; and because every man can, without prejudice to his *status* in society, take to what branch of industry he pleases. But when these calamities of season throw men out of employment in tillage for a time in India, they cannot find it in any other branch, because agricultural industry forms so very large a portion of the collective industry of every part of the country ; and because men are often prevented by the prejudices of caste from taking to that which they can find.

In societies constituted like that of India, the trade of the corn-dealer is more essentially necessary for the welfare of the community than in any other, for it is among them that the superabundance of seasons of plenty requires most to be stored up for seasons of scarcity ; and if public functionaries will take upon themselves to seize such stores, and sell them at their own arbitrary prices, whenever prices happen to rise beyond the rate which they in their short-sighted wisdom think just, no corn-dealer will ever collect such stores. Hitherto, whenever grain has become dear at any military or civil station, we have seen the civil functionaries urged to prohibit its egress—to search for the hidden stores, and to coerce the proprietors to the sale in all manner of ways ; and if they do not yield to the ignorant clamour, they are set down as indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures around them ; and as blindly supporting the worst enemies of mankind, in the worst species of iniquity.

If those who urge them to such measures are asked, whether silversmiths or linendrapers, who should be treated in the same manner as they wish the corn-dealers to be treated, would ever collect and keep stores of plate and cloths for their use, they readily answer, no; they see at once the evil effects of interfering with the free disposal of the property of the one, but are totally blind to that which must as surely follow any interference with that of the other, whose entire freedom is of so much more vital importance to the public. There was a time, and that not very remote, when grave historians, like Smollett, could even in England fan the flame of their vulgar prejudice against one of the most useful classes of society. That day is, thank God, passed; and no man can now venture to write such trash in his history, or even utter it in any well-informed circle of English society; and if any man were to broach such a subject in an English House of Commons, he would be considered as a fit subject for a madhouse.

But some who retain their prejudices against corn-dealers, and are yet ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance of the principles of political economy, try to persuade themselves and their friends, that however applicable these may be to the state of society in European or christian countries, they are not so to countries occupied by Hindoos and Mahomedans! This is a sad delusion; and may be a very mischievous one when indulged by public officers in India.

CHAPTER XXV.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES—SCAPE-GOAT.

IN the evening, after my conversation with the cultivator, upon the wall that united the two hills, I received a visit from my little friend the Sureem unt. His fine rose-coloured turban is always put on very gracefully; every hair of his jet-black eyebrows and mustachios seems to be kept always most religiously in the same place; and he has always the same charming smile upon his little face, which was never, I believe, distorted into an absolute laugh or frown. No man was ever more perfectly master of what the natives call "the art of *rising and sitting*"—"Nishust roo *Burkhaust*"—namely, good manners. I should as soon expect to see him set the Nerbudda on fire as commit any infringement of the *convenances* on this head established in good Indian society, or be guilty of anything vulgar in speech, sentiment, or manners. I asked him by what means it was that the old queen of Saugor drove out the influenza that afflicted the people so much in 1833, while he was there on a visit to me. He told me, "that he took no part in the ceremonies, nor was he aware of them till awoke one night by the noise, when his attendants informed him that the queen and the greater part of the city were making offerings to the new god, Hurdoul Lala. He found next morning that a goat had been offered up with as much noise as possible, and with good effect, for the disease was found to give way from that moment. About six years before, when great numbers were dying in his own little capital of Pithooreea, from a similar epidemic, he had, he said, tried the same thing with still greater effect; but on that occasion, he had had the aid of a man very learned in such matters. This man caused a small carriage to be made up after a

plan of his own, for a pair of *scape-goats*, which were harnessed to it, and driven during the ceremonies to a wood some distance from the town, where they were let loose. From that hour the disease entirely ceased in the town. The goats never returned: "had they come back," said Sureemunt, "the disease must have come back with them; so he took them a long way into the wood—indeed, he believed, the man, to make sure of them, had afterwards caused them to be offered up as a sacrifice, to the shrine of Hurdoul Lala, in that very wood! He had himself never seen a *pooja*, religious ceremony, so entirely and immediately efficacious as this, and much of its success was, no doubt, attributable to the science of the man who planned the carriage, and himself drove the pair of goats to the wood! No one had ever before heard of the plan of a pair of *scape-goats* being driven in a carriage; but it was likely, he thought, to be extensively adopted in future."

Sureemunt's man of affairs mentioned, "that when Lord Hastings took the field against the Pindarees, in 1817, and the division of the grand army under his command was encamped near the grove in Bundelcund, where repose the ashes of Hurdoul Lala, under a small shrine, a cow was taken into this grove to be converted into beef for the use of the Europeans. The priest in attendance remonstrated, but in vain—the cow was killed and eaten. The priest complained, and from that day the cholera morbus broke out in the camp; and from this central point it was, he said, generally understood to have spread all over India.* The story of the cow travelled at the same time, and

* The people in the Saugor territories used to show several decayed mango trees in groves where European troops had encamped during the campaigns of 1816 and 1817, and declare that they had been seen to wither from the day that beef for the use of these troops, had been tied to their branches. The only coincidence was in the decay of the trees, and the encamping of the troops in the groves—that the withering trees were those to which the beef had been tied, was of course taken for granted!

the spirit of Hurdoul Lala was everywhere supposed to be riding in the whirlwind and *directing the storm* ! Temples were everywhere erected, and offerings made to appease him ; and in less than six years after, he had himself seen them as far as Lahore, and in almost every village throughout the whole course of his journey to that distant capital and back." He is one of the most sensible and freely spoken men that I have met with. "Up to within the last few years," added he, "the spirit of Hurdoul Lala had been propitiated only in cases of cholera morbus ; but now he is supposed to preside over all kinds of epidemic diseases, and offerings have everywhere been made to his shrine during late influenzas."

"This of course arises," I observed, "from the industry of his priests, who are now spread all over the country ; and you know that there is hardly a village or hamlet in which there are not some of them to be found subsisting upon the fears of the people."

"I have no doubt," replied he, "that the cures which the people attribute to the spirit of Hurdoul Lala often arise merely from the firmness of their faith (Itakal) in the efficacy of their offerings ; and that any other ceremonies that should give to their minds the same assurance of recovery, would be of great advantage in cases of epidemic diseases. I remember a singular instance of this," said he. "When Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar was flying before Lord Lake to the banks of the Hyphases, a poor trooper of one of his lordship's irregular corps, when he tied the grain-bag to his horse's mouth, said, 'Take this in the name of Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar, for to him you and I owe all that we have !' The poor man had been suffering from a severe attack of ague and fever ; but from that moment he felt himself relieved, and the fever never returned. At that time this fever prevailed more generally among the people of Hindoostan than any I have ever known, though I am now an old man. The

speech of the trooper, and the supposed result, soon spread; and others tried the experiment with similar success; and it acted everywhere like a charm. I had the fever myself, and though by no means a superstitious man, and certainly no lover of Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar, I tried the experiment, and the fever left me from that day. From that time, till the epidemic disappeared, no man, from the Nerbudda to the Indus, fed his horse without invoking the spirit of Jeswunt Rao, though the chief was then alive and well. Some one had said he found great relief from plunging into the stream during the paroxysms of the fever; others followed the example, and some remained for half an hour at a time, and the sufferers generally found relief. The streams and tanks throughout the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna became crowded, till the propitiatory offering to the spirit of the living Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar were found equally good, and far less troublesome to those who had horses that must have got their grain, whether in Hoolkar's name or not."

There is no doubt that the great mass of those who had nothing but their horses and their *good blades* to depend upon for their subsistence, did most fervently pray, throughout India; for the safety of this Mahratta chief, when he fled before Lord Lake's army; for they considered, that with his fall the Company's dominion would become everywhere securely established, and that good soldiers would be at a discount! "*Company ka amul men kooch roo-gar nuheen hy*;"—"there is no employment in the Company's dominion," is a common maxim, not only among the men of the sword and the spear, but among those merchants who lived by supporting native, civil, and military establishments, with the luxuries and elegancies which, under the new order of things, they have no longer the means to enjoy.

The noisy poojah, (worship,) about which our conversation began, took place at Saugor in April, 1832, while I was at that

station. More than four-fifths of the people of the city and cantonments had been affected by a violent influenza, which commenced with a distressing cough, was followed by fever, and in some cases terminated in death. I had an application from the old Queen Dowager of Saugor, who received a pension of ten thousand pounds a year from the British government, and resided in the city, to allow of a *noisy* religious procession, to implore deliverance from this great calamity. Men, women, and children in this procession, were to do their utmost to add to the noise by "raising their voices in *psalmody*," beating upon their brass pots, and pans with all their might, and discharging fire-arms where they could get them; and before the noisy crowd was to be driven a buffalo, which had been purchased by a general subscription in order that every family might participate in the merit. They were to follow it out eight miles, where it was to be turned loose for any man who would take it. If the animal returned, the disease, it was said, must return with it, and the ceremony be performed over again. I was requested to intimate the circumstance to the officer commanding the troops in cantonments, in order that the hideous noise they intended to make might not excite any alarm, and bring down upon them the visit of the soldiery. It was, however, subsequently determined, that the animal should be a goat; and he was driven before the crowd accordingly. I have on several occasions been requested to allow of such noisy poojahs in cases of epidemics; and the confidence the people feel in their efficacy has no doubt a good effect.

While in civil charge of the district of Nursingpore, in the valley of the Nerbudda, in April, 1823, the cholera morbus raged in almost every house of the towns of Nursingpore and Kundalee, situated near each other, and one of them close to my dwelling-house and court. The European physicians lost all confidence in their prescriptions, and the people declared that the hand of God was upon them, and by appeasing him could they alone hope to be saved.

A religious procession was determined upon; but the population of both towns were divided upon the point, whether a *silent* or a *noisy* one would be most acceptable to God. Hundreds were dying around me when I was applied to, to settle this *knotty point* between the parties. I found that both in point of numbers and respectability the majority was in favour of the silent procession, and I recommended that this should be adopted. The procession took place about nine the same night, with all due ceremony; but the advocates for noise would none of them assist in it. Strange as it may appear, the disease abated from that moment; and the great majority of the population of both towns believed that their prayers had been heard; and I went to bed with a mind somewhat relieved by the hope, that this feeling of confidence might be useful. About one o'clock I was awoke from a sound sleep by the most hideous noise that I had ever heard; and not at that moment recollecting the proposal for the noisy procession, ran out of my house, in expectation of seeing both towns in flames. I found that the advocates for noise, resolving to have their procession, had assembled together about midnight; and apprehensive that they might be borne down by the advocates for silence, and police establishments, had determined to make the most of their time, and put in requisition all the pots, pans, shells, trumpets, pistols, and muskets that they could muster! All opened at once about one o'clock; and had there been any virtue in discord, the cholera must soon have deserted the place, for such another hideous compound of noises I never heard. The disease, which seemed to have subsided with the silent procession before I went to bed, now returned with double violence, as I was assured by numbers who flocked to my house in terror; and the whole population became exasperated with the leaders of the noisy faction, who had, they believed, been the means of bringing back among them all the horrors of this dreadful scourge!

I asked the Hindoo Sudder Ameen, or head native judicial

officer at Saugor, a very profound Sanscrit scholar what he thought of the efficacy of these processions in checking epidemic diseases. He said, "that there could be nothing more clear than the total inefficiency of medicine in such cases; and when medicine failed, a man's only resource was in prayers: that the diseases of mankind were to be classed under three general heads; first, those suffered for sins committed in some former births; second, those suffered for sins committed in the present birth; third, those merely accidental. Now," said the old gentleman, "it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind, that the third only can be cured or checked by the physician!" Epidemics, he thought, must all be classed under the second head, and as inflicted by the Deity for some very general sin; consequently, to be removed only by prayers; and whether silent or noisy, was, he thought, matter of little importance, provided they were offered in the same spirit. I believe that among the great mass of the people of India, three-fourths of the diseases of individuals are attributed to evil spirits, and evil eyes; and for every physician among them there are certainly ten *exorcisers*! The faith in them is very great and very general; and as the gift is supposed to be supernatural, it is commonly exercised without fee or reward. The gifted person subsists upon some other employment, and *exorcises gratis*. A child of one of our servants was one day in convulsions from its sufferings in cutting its teeth. The civil surgeon happened to call that morning, and he offered to lance the child's gums. The poor mother thanked him; but stated, "that there could be no possible doubt as to the source of her child's sufferings—that the *devil* had got into it during the night, and would certainly not be frightened out by his little lancet; but she expected back every moment my old tent-pitcher, whose exorcisms no devil of this description had ever yet been able to withstand!"

The small-pox had been raging in the town of Jubbulpore for some time during one hot season that I was there, and a

great many children had died from it. The severity of the disease was considered to have been a good deal augmented by a very untoward circumstance that had taken place in the family of the principal banker of the town, Khoshal Chund. Sewa Ram Seith, the old man, had lately died, leaving two sons, Ram Kishen, the eldest, and Khoshal Chund, the second. The eldest gave up all the management of the sublunary concerns of the family, and devoted his mind entirely to religious duties. They had a very fine family temple of their own, in which they placed an image of their god Vishnoo, cut out of the choicest stone of the Nerbudda, and consecrated, after the most approved form, and with very expensive ceremonies. This idol, Ram Kishen used every day to wash with his own hands with rose-water, and anoint with precious ointments. One day, while he had the image in his arms, and was busily employed in anointing it, it fell to the ground upon the stone pavement, and one of the arms was broken. To live after such an untoward accident was quite out of the question, and poor Ram Kishen proceeded at once quietly to hang himself! He got a rope from the stable, and having tied it over the beam in the room where he had let the god fall upon the stone-pavement, he was putting his head calmly into the noose, when his brother came in, laid hold of him, called for assistance, and put him under restraint. A conclave of the priests of that sect was immediately held in the town, and Ram Kishen was told that hanging himself was not absolutely necessary—that it might do if he would take the stone image, broken arm and all, upon his own back, and carry it two hundred and sixty miles to Benares, where resided the high priest of the sect who would, no doubt, be able to suggest the proper measures for pacifying the god.

At this time, the only son of his brother Khoshal Chund, an interesting little boy of about four years of age, was extremely ill of the small-pox; and it is a rule with Hindoos never to

undertake any journey, even one of pilgrimage to a holy shrine, while any member of the family is afflicted with this disease; they must all sit at home clothed in sackcloth and ashes. He was told that he had better defer his journey to Benares till the child should recover; but he could neither sleep nor eat, so great was his terror, lest some dreadful calamity should befall the whole family before he could expiate his crime, or take the advice of his high priest, as to the best means of doing it; and he resolved to leave the decision of the question to God himself! He took two pieces of paper, and having caused Benares to be written upon one, and Jubbulpore upon the other, he put them both into a brass vessel. After shaking the vessel well, he drew forth that on which Benares had been written. "It is the will of God!" said Ram Kishen! All the family who were interested in the preservation of the poor boy, implored him not to set out, lest Davey, who presides over small-pox, should become angry. It was all in vain! He would set out with his household god; and unable to carry it himself, he put it into a small litter upon a pole, and hired a bearer to carry it at one end, while he supported it at the other. His brother, Khoshal Chund, sent his second wife, at the same time, with offerings for Davey, to ward off the effects of his brother's rashness from his child. By the time the brother had got with his god to Adhartal, three miles from Jubbulpore, on the road to Benares, he heard of the death of his nephew; but he seemed not to feel this slight blow in his terror of the dreadful but undefined calamity which he felt to be impending over him and the whole family, and he trotted on his road. Soon after an infant son of their uncle died of the same disease; and the whole town became at once divided into two parties--those who held that the children had been killed by Davey as a punishment for Ram Kishen's presuming to leave Jubbulpore before they recovered; and those who held that they were killed by the god Vishnoo himself, for having been so rudely

deprived of one of his arms. Khoshal Chund's wife sickened on the road, and died on reaching Mirzapore, of fever; and as Davey was supposed to have nothing to do with fevers, this event greatly augmented the advocates of Vishnoo. It is a rule with Hindoos to bury, and not to burn, the bodies of those who die of the small-pox; "for," say they, "the small-pox is not only caused by the goddess Davey, but is, in fact *Davey herself*"; and to burn the body of the person affected with this disease is, in reality, neither more nor less than *to burn the goddess!*"

Khoshal Chund was strongly urged to bury, and not burn his child, particularly as it was usual with Hindoos to bury infants and children of that age, of whatever disease they might die; but he insisted upon having his boy burned with all due pomp and ceremony, and burned he was accordingly. From that moment, it is said, the disease began to rage with increased violence throughout the town of Jubbulpore. At least one half of the children affected had before survived; but from that hour at least three out of four died: and instead of the condolence which he expected from his fellow-citizens, poor Khoshal Chund—a very amiable and worthy man—received nothing but their execrations for bringing down so many calamities upon their heads; first, by maltreating his own god, and then by setting fire to theirs!

I had a few days after a visit from Gungadhur Row, the Sudder Ameen, or head native judicial officer of this district, whose father had been for a short time the ruler of the district, under the former government; and I asked him whether the small-pox had diminished in the town since the rains had now set in. He told me that he thought it had; but that a great many children had been taken off by the disease.

"I understand, Row Sahib, that Khoshal Chund, the banker, is supposed to have augmented the virulence of the disease by burning his boy: was it so?"

"Certainly!" said my friend, with a grave, long face; "the disease was much increased by this man's folly!"

I looked very grave in my turn, and he continued.

"Not a child escaped after he had burned his boy. Such incredible folly! To set fire to the goddess in the midst of a population of twenty thousand souls; it might have brought destruction upon us all!"

"What makes you think that the disease is itself the goddess?"

"Because we always say, when any member of a family becomes attacked by the small-pox, 'Davey Nîkulee;' that is, Davey has shown herself in that family, or in that individual. And the person affected can wear nothing but plain white clothing—not a silken or coloured garment, nor an ornament of any kind; nor can he or any of his family undertake a journey, or participate in any kind of rejoicings, lest he give offence to her! They broke the arm of their god; and he drove them all mad. The elder brother set out on a journey with it, and his nephew, cousin, and sister-in-law fell victims to his temerity; and then Khoshal Chund brings down the goddess upon the whole community by burning his boy! No doubt he was very fond of his child—so we all are—and wished to do him all honour; but some regard is surely due to the people around us, and I told him so when he was making preparations for the funeral; but he would not listen to reason!"

A complicated religious code, like that of the Hindoos, is to the priest, what a complicated civil code, like that of the English, is to the lawyers. A Hindoo can do nothing without consulting his priest; and an Englishman can do nothing without consulting his lawyer!



CHAPTER XXVI.

ARTIFICIAL LAKES IN BUNDELCUND—HINDOO, GREEK, AND ROMAN FAITH.

On the 11th we came on twelve miles to the town of Bumhoree, whence extends, to the south-west, a ridge of high and bare quartz hills, towering above all others, curling and foaming at the top, like a wave ready to burst, when suddenly arrested by the hand of Omnipotence, and turned into white stone. The soil all the way is wretchedly poor in quality, being formed of the detritus of sienitic and quartz rocks, and very thin. Bumhoree is a nice little town, beautifully situated on the bank of a fine lake, the waters of which preserved during the late famine the population of this and six other small towns, which are situated near its borders, and have their lands irrigated from it. Besides water for their fields, this lake yielded the people abundance of water chesnuts and fish. In the dryest season the water has been found sufficient to supply the wants of all the people of these towns and villages, and those of all the country around, as far as the people can avail themselves of it. This large lake is formed by an artificial bank or wall, at the south east end, which rests one arm upon the high range of white quartz rocks, which runs along its south-west side for several miles, looking down into the clear deep water, and forming a beautiful landscape.

From this pretty town, Sodora, where the great marriage had lately taken place, was in sight, and only four miles distant. It was, I learnt, the residence of the present Rajah, of Orcha,

before the death of his brother called him to the throne. Many people were returning from the ceremonies of the marriage of *Saligram* with *Toolsee*; who told me that the concourse had been immense—at least one hundred and fifty thousand; and that the Rajah had feasted them all for four days during the progress of the ceremonies, but that they were obliged to defray their expenses going and coming, except when they came by special invitation, to do honour to the occasion, as in the case of my little friend the Sangor high priest, Jankee Sewuk. They told me that they called this festival the *Dhunuk Jug*; and that *Junuk Raj*, the father of *Seeta*, had in his possession the *Dhunuck*, or immortal bow of *Pursoram*, the sixth incarnation of *Vishnoo*, with which he exterminated all the *Kshatryas*, or original military class of India, and which required no less than four thousand men to raise it on one end.* The prince offered his daughter in marriage to any man who should bend this bow. Hundreds of heroes and demigods aspired to the hand of the fair *Seeta*, and essayed to bend the bow; but all in vain, till young *Ram*, the seventh incarnation of *Vishnoo*, then a lad of only ten years of age, came; and at the touch of his great toe the bow flew into a thousand pieces, which are supposed to have been all taken up into heaven! *Seeta* became the wife of *Ram*; and the popular poem of the *Ramaen* describes the abduction of the heroine by the monster king of Ceylon, *Rawn*; and her recovery by means of the monkey General *Hunooman*. Every word of this poem the

* The tradition is, that a prince of this military class was sporting in a river with his thousand wives, when *Roruka*, the wife of *Janiadagni*, went to bring water. He offended her, and her husband cursed the prince, but was put to death by him. His son, *Pursoram*, was no less a person than the sixth incarnation of *Vishnoo*, who had assumed the human shape merely to destroy these tyrants. He vowed, now that his mother had been insulted and his father killed, not to leave one on the face of the earth. He destroyed them all twenty-one times, the women with child producing a new race at each time.

people assured me was written, if not by the hand of the Deity himself, at least by his inspiration, which was the same thing, and it must, consequently, be true.* Ninety-nine out of a hundred, among the Hindoos, implicitly believe, not only every word of this poem, but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanscrit. If you ask a man whether he really believes any every egregious absurdity quoted from these books, he replies with the greatest *naïveté* in the world," "Is it not written in the book; and how should it be there written if not true?" The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties, which we are accustomed to make occasionally, while engaged at the theatre, or in the perusal of works of fiction. We allow the scenes, characters, and incidents to pass before "our mind's eye," and move our feelings, without asking, or stopping a moment to ask, whether they are real or true. There is only this difference, that with people of education among us, even in such short intervals of illusion or *abandon*, any extravagance in the acting, or flagrant improbability in the fiction, destroys the charm, breaks the spell by which we have been so mysteriously bound, stops the smooth current of sympathetic emotion, and restores us to reason and to the realities of ordinary life. With the Hindoos, on the contrary, the greater the improbability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction, the greater is the charm it has over their minds; and the greater their learning in the Sanscrit the more are they under the influence of this charm. Believing all to be written by the Deity, or by his inspirations,

* When Ram set out with his army for Ceylon, he is supposed to have worshipped the little tree called Cheonkul, which stood near his capital of Ajoodheea. It is a wretched little thing, between a shrub and a tree; but I have seen a procession of more than seventy thousand persons attend their prince to the worship of it on the festival of the Duschia, which is held in celebration of this expedition to Ceylon.

and the men and things of former days to have been very different from the men and things of the present day, and the heroes of these fables to have been demi-gods, or people endowed with powers far superior to those of the ordinary men of their own day, the analogies of nature are never for a moment considered; nor do questions of probability, or possibility, according to those analogies, ever obtrude to dispel the charm with which they are so pleasingly bound. They go on through life reading and talking of these monstrous fictions, which shock the taste and understanding of other nations, without once questioning the truth of one single incident, or hearing it questioned. There was a time, and that not very distant, when it was the same in England, and in every other European nation; and there are, I am afraid, some parts of Europe where it is so still. But the Hindoo faith, so far as religious questions are concerned, is not more capacious or absurd than that of the Greeks and Romans in the days of Socrates and Cicero—the only difference is, that among the Hindoos a greater number of the questions which interest mankind are brought under the head of religion.

There is nothing in the Hindoos more absurd than the *piety* of Tiberius in offering up sacrifices in the temple, and before the image of Augustus, while he was solicited by all the great cities of the empire, to suffer temples to be built and sacrifices to be made to himself while still living; or than Alexander's attempt to make a goddess of his mother, while yet alive, that he might feel the more secure of being made a *god* himself after his death. In all religions there are points at which the professors declare that *reason* must stop, and cease to be a guide to *faith*. The pious man thinks, that all which he cannot comprehend or reconcile to reason in his own religion, must be *above* it. The superstitious of the people of India will diminish before the spread of science, arts, and literature; and good works of history and fiction would,

I think, make far greater havoc among these superstitions even than good works in any of the sciences, save the physical, such as astronomy, chemistry, &c.

In the evening we went out with the intention of making an excursion on the lake, in boats that had been prepared for our reception, by tying three or four fishing canoes together; but on reaching the ridge of quartz hills, which runs along the south-east side, we preferred moving along its summit to entering the boats. The prospect on either side of this ridge was truly beautiful. A noble sheet of clear water, about four miles long by two broad, on our right, and on our left a no less noble sheet of rich wheat cultivation, irrigated from the lake by drains passing between small breaks in the ridges of the hills. The Persian wheel is used to raise the water. This sheet of rich cultivation is beautifully studded with mango groves and fields of sugar-cane. The lake is almost double the size of that of Saugor, and the idea of its great utility for purposes of irrigation, made it appear to me far more beautiful; but my little friend the Sureemunt, who accompanied us in our walk, said, "that it could not be so handsome, since it had not a fine city and castle on two sides, and a fine government house on the third."

"But," said I, "no man's field is watered from that lake!"

"No," replied he, "but for every man that drinks of the waters of this, fifty drinks of the waters of that; from that lake thirty thousand people get '*aram*' (comfort) every day!"

This lake is called Kewlus, after Kewai Brim, the Chundelea prince by whom it was formed. His palace, now in ruins, stood on the top of the ridge of rocks in a very beautiful situation. From the summit, about eight miles to the west, we could see a still larger lake, called the Nundunwara Lake, extending under a similar range of quartz hills running parallel with that on which we stood. That lake, we were told, answered upon a much larger scale the same admirable purpose of supplying water for the

fields, and securing the people from the dreadful effects of droughts. The extensive level plains through which the rivers of central India generally cut their way have, for the most part, been the beds of immense natural lakes ; and these rivers sink so deep into these beds, and leave such ghastly chasms and ravines on either side, that their waters are hardly ever available in due season for irrigation. It is this characteristic of the rivers of central India that makes such lakes so valuable to the people, particularly in seasons of drought. The river Nerbudda has been known to rise seventy feet, in the course of a couple of days, in the rains ; and during the season, when its waters are wanted for irrigation, they can nowhere be found within that of the surface ; while a level piece of ground fit for irrigation is rarely to be met with within a mile of the stream.

The people appeared to improve as we advanced farther into Bundelcund in appearance, manners, and intelligence. There is a bold bearing about the Bondelas, which at first one is apt to take for rudeness or impudence, but which in time he finds not to be so. The employés of the Raja were everywhere attentive, frank, and polite ; and the peasantry seemed no longer inferior to those of our Sangor and Nerbudda territories. The females of almost all the villages through which we passed came out with their *kullus* in procession to meet us—one of the most affecting marks of respect from the peasantry to their rulers or their superiors that I know. One woman carries on her head a brass jug, brightly polished, full of water ; while all the other families of the village crowd around her, and sing in chorus some rural song, that lasts from the time the respected visitor comes in sight, till he disappears. He usually puts into the *kullus* a rupee, to purchase goor, (coarse sugar,) of which all the females partake, as a sacred offering made to the sex. No member of the other sex pretends to partake of it ; and during the chorus all the men stand aloof in respectful silence. This custom prevails all over

India, or over all parts of it that I have seen ; and yet I have witnessed a governor-general of India with all his suite, passing by this interesting group without knowing or asking what it was. I lingered behind, and quietly put my silver into the jug as if from the Governor-general.

The man who administers the government over these seven villages in all its branches civil, criminal, and fiscal, receives a salary of only two hundred rupees a year ! He collects the revenues on the part of government ; and, with the assistance of the heads and the elders of the villages, adjusts all petty matters of dispute among the people, both civil and criminal. Disputes of a more serious character are sent to be adjusted at the capital by the Rajah and his ministers. The person who reigns over the seven villages of the lake, is about thirty years of age, of the Rajpoot caste, and I think one of the finest young men I have ever seen. His ancestors have served the Orcha state in the same station for some generations ; and he tells me, that he hopes his posterity will serve them for as many more, provided they do not forfeit their claims to do so by their infidelity or incapacity. This young man seemed to have the respect and the affection of every member of the little communities of the villages through which we passed ; and it was evident, that he deserved their attachment. I have rarely seen any similar signs of attachment to one of our own native officers. This arises chiefly from the circumstance of their being less frequently placed in authority among those upon whose good feelings and opinions their welfare and comfort, or those of their children, are likely *permanently* to depend. In India, under native rule, office became hereditary, because officers expended the whole of their incomes in religious ceremonies, or works of ornament and utility, and left their families in hopeless dependence upon the chief in whose service they had laboured all their lives, while they had been educating their sons exclusively with the view to their serving that chief

in the same capacity that their fathers had served before them. It is in this case and this alone that the law of primogeniture is in force in India. Among Mahomedans, as well as Hindoos, all property, real and personal, is divided equally among the children; but the duties of an office will not admit of the same subdivision; and this therefore when hereditary, as it often is descends to the eldest son with the obligation of providing for the rest of the family. The family consists of all the members who remain united to the parent stock, including the widows and orphans of the sons or brothers who were so up to the time of their death.*

The old Chobdar, or silver-stick bearer, who came with us from the Rajah, gets fifteen rupees a month; and his ancestors have served the Rajah for several generations. The Deewan who has charge of the treasury receives only one thousand rupees a year, and the Bakshee, or paymaster of the army, who seems at present to rule the state as the prime favourite, the same. These latter are at present the only two great officers of state; and though they are no doubt realizing handsome incomes by indirect means, they dare not make any display lest signs of wealth might induce the Rajah or his successors to treat them as their predecessors in office have been treated for some time past. The Jageerdars, or feudal chiefs, as I have before stated, are almost all of the same family or clan as the Rajah; and they spend all the revenues of their estates in the maintenance of military retainers, upon whose courage and fidelity they can generally rely. These Jageerdars are bound to attend the prince on all

* But it is only the smaller local, ministerial officers who are secure in their tenure of office under native governments; those on whose efficiency the well-being of village communities depends. The greatest evils of governments of the kind is the feeling of insecurity in such tenures which prevades all the higher officers of government; and the instability of all engagements made by the government with them; and by them with the people.

great occasions, and at certain intervals; and are made to contribute something to his exchequer in tribute. Almost all live beyond their legitimate means, and make up the deficiency by maintaining upon their estates gangs of thieves, robbers, and murderers, who extend their depredations into the countries around; and share the prey with these chiefs and their officers, and under-tenants. They keep them as *poachers* keep their *dogs*; and the paramount power, whose subjects they plunder, might as well ask them for the best horse in the stable as for the best thief that lives under their protection!*

I should mention an incident that occurred during the Rajah's visit to me at Tehree. Lieutenant Thomas was sitting next to the little Sureemunt, and during the interview he asked him to allow him to look at his beautiful little gold-hilted sword. The Sureemunt held it fast, and told him, that he should do himself the honour of waiting upon him in his tent in the course of the day, when he would show him the sword, and tell him its history. After the Rajah left me, Thomas mentioned this, and said he felt very much hurt at the incivility of my little friend; but I told him, that he was in everything he did and said so perfectly the gentleman, that I felt quite sure he would explain all to his satisfaction when he called upon him. During his visit to Thomas he apologized for not having given over his sword to him, and said, "You European gentlemen have such perfect confidence in each other, that you can at all times, and in all situations, venture to gratify your curiosity in these matters, and draw your swords in a crowd just as well as when alone; but had you drawn mine from the scabbard in such a situation, with the tent full of the Rajah's

* In the Gualior territory, the Mahratta amils, or governors of districts, do the same, and keep gangs of robbers on purpose to plunder their neighbours; and if you ask them for their thieves, they will actually tell you, that to part with them would be ruin, as they are their only defence against the thieves of their neighbours!

personal attendants, and surrounded by a devoted and not very orderly soldiery, it might have been attended by very serious consequences. Any man outside might have seen the blade gleaming; and not observing distinctly why it had been drawn, might have suspected treachery, and called out *to the rescue*, when we should all have been cut down—the lady, child, and all !” Thomas was not only satisfied with the Sureemunt’s apology, but was so much delighted with him, that he has ever since been longing to get his portrait; for he says it was really his intention to draw the sword had the Sureemunt given it to him ! As I have said, his face is extremely beautiful—quite a model for a painter or a statuary; and his figure, though small, is handsome. He dresses with great elegance, mostly in azure-coloured satin, surmounted by a rose-coloured turban, and a waistband of the same colour. All his motions are graceful, and his manners have an exquisite polish. A greater master of all the *convenances* I have never seen; though he is of slender capacity, and as I have said, in stature less than five feet high.

A poor half naked man, reduced to beggary by the late famine, run along by my horse to show me the road; and to the great amusement of my attendants exclaimed, “That he felt exactly as if he were always falling down a well,” meaning if he were immersed in cold water. He said, “That the cold season was suited only to gentlemen who could afford to be well clothed; but, to a poor man like himself, and the great mass of people, in Bundelcund at least, the hot season was much better.” He told me, “That the late Rajah, though a harsh was thought to be a just man;” and that his good sense, and above all his *good fortune*,

* My poor guide had as little of sympathy with the prime ministers, whom the Tehree Rajah put to death, as the peasantry of England had with the great men and women whom Henry the Eighth sacrificed.

(Ikbal,) had preserved the principality entire ; but that God only and the forbearance of the honourable company, could now save it under such an imbecile as the present chief." He seemed quite melancholy at the thought of living to see this principality, the oldest in Bundelcund, lose its independence. Even this poor, unclothed, and starving wretch had a feeling of patriotism: a pride of country, though that country had been so wretchedly governed, and was now desolated by a famine.

Just such a feeling had the impressed seaman who fought our battles in the great struggle. No nation has ever had a more disgraceful institution than that of the press-gang of England. This institution, if so it can be called, must be an eternal stain upon her glory—posterity will never be able to read the history of her naval victories without a blush—without reproaching the lawgivers who could allow them to be purchased with the blood of such men as those who fought for us the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar. "*England expected every man to do his duty on that day ;*" but had England done her duty to every man who was on that day to fight for her?—was not every English gentleman of the lords and commons a David sending his Uriah to battle ?

The intellectual stock which we require in good seamen for our navy, and which is acquired in scenes of peril "upon the high and giddy mast," is as much their property as that which other men acquire in schools and colleges ; and we had no more right to seize and employ these seamen in our battles upon the wages of common, uninstructed labour, than we should have had to seize and employ as many clergymen, barristers, and physicians. When I have stood on the quarter-deck of a ship in a storm, and seen the seamen covering the yards in taking in sail, with the thunder rolling and the lightning flashing fearfully around them—the sea covered with foam, and each succeeding billow, as it rushed by, seeming ready to sweep them all from the frail footing into the fathomless abyss below—I have asked myself, "Are men

like these to be seized like common felons—torn from their wives and children, as soon as they reach their native land—subjected every day to the lash, and put in front of those battles on which the wealth, the honour, and the independence of the nation depend, merely because British legislators know, that when there, a regard for their own personal character among their companions in danger, will make them fight like Englishmen !” This feeling of nationality which exists in the little states of Bundelcund, arises from the circumstance, that the mass of the land-holders are of the same clan as the chief Bondelas ; and that the public establishments of the state are recruited almost exclusively from that mass. The states of Jhansee and Jalone are the only exceptions. There the rulers are Brahmans and not Rajpoots, and they recruit their public establishments from all classes, and all countries. The landed aristocracy however, there as elsewhere, are Rajpoots, either Powars, Chundeles, or Bondelas.

The Rajpoot landholders of Bundelcund are linked to the soil in all their grades from the prince to the peasant, as the Highlanders of Scotland were not long ago ; and the holder of a hundred acres is as proud as the holder of a million. He boasts the same descent, and the same exclusive possession of arms and agriculture, to which unhappily the industry of their little territories is almost exclusively confined, for no other branch can grow up among so turbulent a set, whose quarrels with their chiefs or among each other are constantly involving them in civil wars, which render life and property exceedingly insecure. Besides, as I have stated, their propensity to keep bands of thieves, robbers, and murderers in their baronial castles, as poachers keep their dogs, has scared away the wealthy and respectable capitalist, and peaceful and industrious manufacturer.

All the landholders are uneducated, and unfit to serve in any of our civil establishments, or in those of any very civilized governments, and they are just as unfitted to serve in our military

establishments, where strict discipline is required. The lands they occupy are cultivated because they depend almost entirely upon the rents they get from them for subsistence; and because every petty chief and his family hold their lands rent free, or at a trifling quit-rent on the tenure of military service, and their residue forms all the market for land produce which the cultivators require. They dread the transfer of the rule to our government, because they now form almost exclusively all the establishments of their domestic chief, civil as well as military, and know, that were our rule to be substituted they would be almost entirely excluded from these, at least for a generation or two. In our regiments, horse or foot, there is hardly a man from Bundelcund for the reasons above stated; nor are there any in the Gwalior regiments and contingents, which are stationed in the neighbourhood, though the land among them is become minutely subdivided, and they are obliged to seek service or starve. They are all too proud for manual labour, even at the plough. No Bundelcund Rajpoot will, I believe, condescend to put his hand to one.

Among the Mahratta states, Seiks and Mahomedans there is no bond of union of this kind. The establishments, military as well as civil, are everywhere among them composed for the most part of foreigners: and the landed interests under such governments would dread nothing from the prospect of a transfer to our rule; on the contrary, they and the mass of the people would almost everywhere hail it as a blessing.

There are two reasons why we should leave these small native states under their own chiefs, even when the claim to the succession is feeble or defective; first, because it tends to relieve the minds of other native chiefs from the apprehension, already too prevalent among them, that we desire by degrees to absorb them all, because we think our government would do better for the people; and secondly, because, by leaving them as a contrast, we afford to the people of India the opportunity of observing the

superior advantages of our rule.

"'Tis distance lends enchantments to the view" in governments as well as in landscapes ; and if the people of India, instead of the living proofs of what 'perilous things native governments, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, are in reality, were acquainted with nothing but such pictures of them as are to be found in their histories and in the imaginations of their priests and learned men, (who lose much of their influence and importance under our rule,) they would certainly, with proneness like theirs to delight in the marvellous, be far from satisfied, as they now are, that they never had a government so good as ours, and that they never could hope for another so good were ours removed.

For the advantages which we derive from leaving them independent, we are, no doubt, obliged to pay a heavy penalty in the plunder of our wealthy native subjects by the gangs of robbers of all descriptions whom they foster ; but this evil may be greatly diminished by a judicious interposition of our authority to put down such bands.

In Bundelcund, at present, the government and the lands of the native chiefs are in the hands of three of the Hindoo military classes, Bundelas, Dhundelas, and Powars. The principal chiefs are of the first, and their feudatories are chiefly of the other two. A Bundela cannot marry the daughter of a Bundela ; he must take his wife from one or other of the other two tribes ; nor can a member of the other two take his wife from his own tribe, he must take her from the Bundelas, or the other tribe. The wives of the greatest chiefs are commonly from the poorest families of their vassals ; nor does the proud family from which she has been taken feel itself exalted by the alliance ; neither does the poorest vassal among the Powars and Dhundels feel that the daughter of his prince has condescended in becoming his wife. All they expect is a service for a few more yeomen of the family among the retainers of the sovereign.

The people are in this manner, from the prince to the peasant, indissolubly linked to each other, and to the soil they occupy; for where industry is confined almost exclusively to agriculture, the proprietors of the soil and the officers of government who are maintained out of its rents, constitute nearly the whole of the middle and higher classes. About one-half of the lands of every state are held on service-tenure by vassals of the same family or clan as the chief; and there is hardly one of them who is not connected with that chief by marriage. The revenue derived from the other half is spent in the maintenance of establishments formed almost exclusively of the members of these families.

They are none of them educated for civil offices under any other rule, nor could they for a generation or two be induced to submit to wear military uniform, or learn the drill of regular soldiers. They are mere militia, brave as men can be, but unsusceptible of discipline. They have, therefore, a natural horror at the thought of their states coming under any other than a domestic rule, for they would have no chance of employment in the civil or military establishments of a foreign power; and their lands would, they fear, be resumed, since the service for which they had been given would be no longer available to the new rulers. It is said, that in the long interval from the commencement of the reign of Alexander the Third to the end of that of David the Second, not a single baron could be found in Scotland able to sign his own name. The Bundelcund barons have never, I believe, been quite so bad as this, though they have never yet learned enough to fit them for civil offices under us. Many of them can write and read their own language, which is that common to the other countries around them.

Bundelcund was formerly possessed by another tribe of Rajpoots, the proud Chundales, who have disappeared altogether from this province. If one of that tribe can still be found, it is in

the humblest rank of the peasant or the soldier; but its former strength is indicated by the magnificent artificial lakes and ruined castles which are traced to them; and by the reverence which is still felt by the present dominant classes of their old capital of Mahoba. Within a certain distance around that ruined city no one now dares to beat the nagara, or great drum used in festivals or processions, lest the spirits of the old Chundale chiefs, who there repose, should be roused to vengeance; and a kingdom could not tempt one of the Bundelas, Powars, or Chundales, to accept the government of the parish in which it is situated. They will take subordinate offices there under others *with fear and trembling*; but nothing could induce one of them to meet the governor. When the deadly struggle between these tribes took place cannot now be discovered. In the time of Akbar, the Chundales were powerful in Mahoba, as the celebrated Dhurghoutee, the queen of Gurhee Mundula, whose reign extended over the Saugor and Nerbudda territories and the greater part of Berar, was a daughter of the reigning Chundale prince of Mahoba. He condescended to give his daughter only on condition that the Gond prince who demanded her should, to save his character, come with an army of fifty thousand men to take her. He did so; and "nothing loth," Dhurghoutee departed to reign over a country where her name is now more revered than that of any other sovereign it has ever had. She was killed above two-hundred and fifty years ago, about twelve miles from Jubbulpore while gallantly leading on her troops in their third and last attempt to stem the torrent of Mahomedan incursion. Her tomb is still to be seen where she fell, in a narrow defile between two hills; and a pair of large rounded stones which stand near, are, according to popular belief, her royal drums turned into stone, which, in the dead of the night, are still heard resounding through the woods, and calling the spirits of her warriors from their thousand graves around her. The travellers who pass this solitary

spot, respectfully place upon the tomb the prettiest specimen they can find of the crystals which abound in the neighbourhood; and with so much of kindly feelings had the history of Dhurghoutee inspired me, that I could not resist the temptation of adding one to the number when I visited her tomb some sixteen years ago.

I should mention that the Rajah of Sumpter, in Bundelcund, is by caste a Gojur; and he has not yet any lauded aristocracy like that of the Bundelas about him. One of his ancestors, not long ago, seized upon a fine open plain, and built a fort upon it, and the family has ever since, by means of this fort, kept possession of the country around, and drawn part of their revenues from depredations upon their neighbours and travellers. The Jhansee and Jhalone chiefs are Brahmans of the same family as the Peshwa.

In the states governed by chiefs of the military classes, nearly the whole produce of the land goes to maintain soldiers, or military retainers, who are always ready to fight or rob for their chief. In those governed by chiefs of the Brahtmanical class, nearly the whole produce goes to maintain priests; and the other chiefs would soon devour them, as the black ants devour the white, were not the paramount power to interpose and save them. While the Peshwa lived he interposed; but all his dominions *were running into priesthood*, like those in Saugor and Bundelcund; and must soon have been swallowed up by the military chiefs around him had we not taken his place. Jhalone and Jhansee are preserved only by us, for with all their religions it is impossible for them to maintain efficient military establishments; and the Bundela chiefs have always a strong desire to eat them up, since these states were all sliced out of their principalities when the Peshaw was all powerful in Hindoostan.

The Chutturpore rajah is a Power. His father had been in the service of the Bundela Rajah; but when we entered upon our duties as the paramount power in Bundelcund, the son hap

succeeded to the little principality seized upon by his father; and on the principle of respecting actual possession, he was recognized by us as the sovereign. The Bundela Rajahs, east of the Dussan river, are descended from Rajah Chuttursaul, and are looked down upon by the Bundela Rajahs of Orcha, Chunderee, and Duttea, west of the Dussan, as Chuttursaul was in the service of one of their ancestors, from whom he wrested the estates which his descendants now enjoy. Chuttursaul, in his will, gave one-third of the dominion he had thus acquired, to the strongest power then in India, the Peshwa, in order to secure the other two-thirds to his two sons, Hirdee Sa and Jugut Raj, in the same manner as princes of the Roman empire used to bequeath a portion of theirs to the emperor. Of the Peshwa's share we have now got all except Jhalone. Jhansee was subsequently acquired by the Peshwa; or rather by his subordinates with his sanction and assistance.

CHAPTER XXVII.



BLIGHTS.

I HAD a visit from my little friend the Sureemunt, and the conversation turned upon the causes and effects of the dreadful blight to which the wheaterops in the Nerbudda districts had of late years been subject. He said that "the people at first attributed this great calamity to an increase in the crime of adultery which had followed the introduction of our rule, and which," he said, "was understood to follow it everywhere; that afterwards it was by most people attributed to our frequent measurement of the land, and inspection of fields, with a view to estimate their capabilities to pay; which the people considered a kind of *incest*, and which he himself, the Deity, can never tolerate. The land is," said he, "considered as the *mother* of the prince or chief who holds it—the great parent from whom he derives all that maintains him—his family and his establishments. If well treated she yields this in abundance to her son; but if he presumes to look upon her with the eye of *desire*, she ceases to be fruitful; or the Deity sends down hail or blight to destroy all that she yields! The measuring the surface of the fields, and the frequently inspecting the crops by the chief himself or by his immediate agents, were considered by the people in this light; and in consequence he never ventured upon those things. They were," he thought, "fully satisfied that we did it more with a view to distribute the burthen of taxation equally upon the people than to increase it collectively: still," he thought, "that either we should not do it at all, or delegate the duty to inferior agents,

whose close inspection of the great *parent* could not be so displeasing to the Deity.*

Ram Chund Pundit said, "that there was no doubt much truth in what Sureemunt Sahib had stated; that the crops of late had unquestionably suffered from the constant measuring going on upon the lands; but that the people, as he knew, had now become unanimous in attributing the calamities of season, under which these districts had been suffering so much, to the *eating of beef*—this was," he thought, "the great source of all their sufferings!"

Sureemunt declared, "that he thought his Pundit was right, and that it would, no doubt, be of great advantage to them and to their rulers if government could be prevailed upon to prohibit the eating of beef—that so great and so general were the sufferings of the people from these calamities of seasons, and so firm, and now so general the opinion, that they arose chiefly from the practice of killing and eating cows, that in spite of all the other superior blessings of our rule, the people were almost beginning to wish their old Mahratta rulers in power again."

I reminded him of the still greater calamities the people of Bundelcund had been suffering under.

"True," said he, "but among them there are crimes enough of every day occurrence to account for these things; but under your rule the Deity has only one or other of these three things to be offended with; and of these three it must be admitted, that the eating of beef so near the sacred stream of the Nerbudda is the worst!"

The blight of which we were speaking had for several seasons, from the year 1829, destroyed the greater part of the wheat-crops

* We are told in 2 Samuel, chap. xxiv., that the Deity was displeased at a census of the people, taken by Joab by the order of David, and destroyed of the people of Israel seventy thousand, besides women and children.

over extensive districts along the line of the Nerbudda, and through Malwa generally ; and old people stated, that they recollected two returns of this calamity, at intervals of from twenty to twenty-four years. The pores with which the stalks are abundantly supplied to admit of their readily taking up the aqueous particles that float in the air, seem to be more open in an easterly wind than in any other ; and when this wind prevails at the same time that the air is filled with the farina of the small parasitic fungus, whose depredations on the corn constitute what they call the rust, mildew, or blight, the particles penetrate into these pores, speedily sprout and spread their small roots into the cellular texture, where they intercept and feed on the sap in its ascent ; and the grain in the ear, deprived of its nourishment, becomes shrivelled, and the whole crop is often not worth the reaping. It is at first of a light, beautiful orange colour, and found chiefly upon the ulsee, (linseed,) which it does not seem much to injure ; but about the end of February the fungi ripen, and shed their seeds rapidly ; and they are taken up by the wind, and carried over the corn-fields. I have sometimes seen the air tinted of an orange-colour for many days by the quantity of these seeds which it has contained ; and that without the wheat-crops suffering at all, when any but an easterly wind has prevailed : but when the air is so charged with this farina, let but an easterly wind blow for twenty-four hours, and all the wheat-crops under its influence are destroyed—nothing can save them ! The stalks and leaves become first of an orange colour, from the light colour of the farina which adheres to them ; but this changes to deep brown. All that part of the stalk that is exposed seems as if it had been pricked with needles, and had exuded blood from every puncture ; and the grain in the ear withers in proportion to the number of fungi that intercept and feed upon its sap ; but the parts of the stalk that are covered by the leaves remain entirely uninjured ; and when the leaves are

drawn off from them, they form a beautiful contrast to the others, which have been exposed to the depredations of these parasitic plants.

Every pore, it is said, may contain from twenty to forty of these plants, and each plant may shed a hundred seeds, so that a single shrub, infected with the disease, may disseminate it over the face of a whole district; for in the warm month of March, when the wheat is attaining maturity, these plants ripen and shed their seeds in a week; and, consequently, increase with enormous rapidity, when they find plants with their pores open ready to receive and nourish them. I went over a rich sheet of wheat cultivation in the district of Jubbulpore, in January, 1836, which appeared to me devoted to inevitable destruction. It was intersected by slips and fields of ulsee, which the cultivators often sow along the borders of their wheat-fields, which are exposed to the road, to prevent trespass. All this ulsee had become of a beautiful light orange-colour from these fungi; and the cultivators, who had had every field destroyed the year before by the same plant, surrounded my tent in despair, imploring me to tell them of some remedy. I knew of none: but as the ulsee is not a very valuable plant, I recommended them, as their only chance, to pull it all up by the roots, and fling it into large tanks that were everywhere to be found. They did so, and no ulsee was *intentionally* left in the district, for, like drowning men catching at a straw, they caught everywhere at the little gleam of hope that my suggestion seemed to offer. Not a field of wheat was that season injured in the district of Jubbulpore; but I was soon satisfied that my suggestion had had nothing whatever to do with their escape, for not a single stalk of the wheat was, I believe, affected; while some stalks of the affected ulsee must have been left by accident. Besides, in several of the adjoining districts, where the ulsee remained in the ground, the wheat escaped. I found that about the time when the blight usually attacks the wheat, westerly winds

prevailed, and that it never blew from the east for many hours together. The common belief among the natives was, that the prevalence of an east wind was necessary to give full effect to the attack of this disease, though they none of them pretended to know anything of its *modus operandi*—indeed they considered the blight to be a demon, which was to be driven off only by prayers and sacrifices.

It is worthy of remark, that hardly anything suffered from the attacks of these fungi but the wheat. The ulsee upon which it always first made its appearance, suffered something certainly, but not much, though the stems and leaves were covered with them. The grain (*cicer arietinum*) suffered still less—indeed the grain in this plant often remained uninjured, while the stems and leaves were covered with the fungi, in the midst of fields of wheat that were entirely destroyed by ravages of the same kind. None of the other pulses were injured, though situated in the same manner in the midst of the fields of wheat that were destroyed. I have seen rich fields of uninterrupted wheat cultivation for twenty miles by ten, in the valley of the Nerbudda, so entirely destroyed by this disease, that the people would not go to the trouble of gathering one field in four, for the stalks and the leaves were so much injured that they were considered as unfit or unsafe for fodder; and during the same season its ravages were equally felt in the districts along the table lands of the Vindhya range north of the valley, and I believe those upon the Sathpore range, south. The last time I saw this blight was in March, 1832, in the Saugor district, where its ravages were very great, but partial; and I kept bundles of the blighted wheat hanging up in my house, for the inspection of the curious, till the beginning of 1835.

When I assumed charge of the district of Saugor, in 1831, the opinion among the farmers and landholders generally was, that the calamities of season under which they had been suffering were attributable to the increase of *adultery*, arising, as they thought,

from our indifference, as we seemed to treat it as a matter of little importance ; whereas it had always been considered, under former governments, as a case of *life and death*. The husband or his friends waited till they caught the offending parties together in criminal correspondence, and then put them both to death ; and the death of one pair generally acted, they thought, as a kind of sedative upon the evil passions of a whole district for a year or two. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than our laws for the punishment of adultery in India, where the Mahomedan criminal code has been followed, though the people subjected to it are not one-tenth Mahomedans. This law was enacted by Mahomed, on the occasion of his favourite wife, Aesha, being found under very suspicious circumstances with another man. A special direction from heaven required that four witnesses should swear positively to the *fact*. Aesha and her paramour were of course acquitted ; and the witnesses being less than four, received the same punishment which would have been inflicted upon the criminals, had the fact been proved by the direct testimony of the prescribed number—that is, eighty stripes of the kora, almost equal to a sentence of death. (See Koran, chap. xxiv. and chap. iv.) This became the law among all Mahomedans. Aesha's father succeeded Mahomed, and Omur succeeded Aboo Bakur. Soon after his accession to the throne, Omur had to sit in judgment upon Mogheera, a companion of the prophet, the governor of Busara, who had been accidentally seen in an awkward position with a lady of rank, by four men while they sat in an adjoining apartment. The door or window which concealed the criminal parties was flung open by the wind, at the time when they wished it most to remain closed. Three of the four men swore directly to the point. Mogheera was Omur's favourite, and had been appointed to the government by him. Zeead, the brother of one of the three who had sworn to the fact, hesitated to swear to the *entire fact*.

"I think," said Omur, "that I see before me a man whom

God would not make the means of disgracing one of the companions of the holy prophet."

Zeead then described, circumstantially, the most unequivocal position that was, perhaps, ever described in a public court of justice; but still hesitating to swear to the entire completion of the crime, the criminals were acquitted, and his brother and the two others received the punishment prescribed. This decision of the *Brutus* of his age and country settled the law of evidence in these matters; and no Mahomedan judge would now give a verdict against any person charged with adultery, without the four witnesses to the *entire fact*. No man hopes for a conviction for this crime in our courts; and as he would have to drag his wife or paramour through no less than three—that of the police officer, the magistrate, and the judge—to seek it, he has recourse to poison, either secretly or with his wife's consent. She will commonly rather die than be turned out into the streets a degraded outcast. The seducer escapes with impunity; while his victim suffers all that human nature is capable of enduring. Where husbands are in the habit of poisoning their guilty wives from the want of *legal* means of redress, they will sometimes poison those who are suspected upon insufficient grounds. No magistrate ever hopes to get a conviction in the judges' court, if he commits a criminal for trial on this charge, (under Regulation 17, of 1817,) and therefore he never does commit. Regulation 7, of 1819, authorises a magistrate to punish any person convicted of enticing away a wife or unmarried daughter for another's use; and an indignant functionary may sometimes feel disposed to stretch a point, that the guilty man may not altogether escape.

Redress for these wrongs is never sought in our courts, because they can never hope to get it. But it is a great mistake to suppose that the people of India want a heavier punishment for the crime than we are disposed to inflict—all they want is a fair chance of conviction upon such reasonable proof as cases of this

nature admit of, and such a measure of punishment as shall make it appear that their rulers think the crime a serious one, and that they are disposed to protect them from it. Sometimes the poorest man would refuse pecuniary compensation; but generally husbands of the poorer classes would be glad to get what the heads of their caste or circle of society might consider sufficient to defray the expenses of a second marriage. They do not dare to live in adultery—they would be outcasts if they did; they must be married according to the forms of their caste; and it is reasonable that the seducer of the wife should be obliged to defray the costs of the injured husband's second marriage. The rich will, of course, always refuse such a compensation, but a law declaring the man convicted of this crime liable to imprisonment in irons at hard labour for two years, but entitled to his discharge within that time on an application from the injured husband, or father, would be extremely popular throughout India. The poor man would make the application when assured of the sum which the elders of his caste consider sufficient; and they would take into consideration the means of the offender to pay. The woman is sufficiently punished by her degraded condition. The tutwa of a Muhomedan law officer should be dispensed with in such cases.

In 1832 the people began to search for other causes. The frequent measurements of the land, with a view to equalize the assessments, were thought of; even the operations of the *trigonometrical* survey, which were then making a great noise in central India, where their fires were seen every night burning upon the peaks of the highest ranges, were supposed to have had some share in exasperating the Deity; and the services of the most holy Brahmans were put in requisition, to exorcise the peaks from which the engineers had taken their angle, the moment their instruments were removed. In many places, to the great annoyance and consternation of the engineers, the land-marks

which they had left, to enable them to correct their work as they advanced, were found to have been removed during their short intervals of absence, and they were obliged to do their work over again. The priests encouraged the disposition on the part of the peasantry to believe, that men who required to do their work by the aid of fires lighted in the dead of the night upon *high places* and work which no one but themselves seemed able to comprehend, must hold communion with supernatural beings—a communion which they thought might be displeasing to the Deity.

At last, in the year 1833, a very holy Brahman, who lived in his cloister, near the iron suspension-bridge over the Beese river, ten miles from Saugor, sat down with a determination to *wrestle with the Deity* till he should be compelled to reveal to him the real cause of all those calamities of season under which the people were groaning. After three days and nights of fasting and prayer, he saw a vision which stood before him in a white mantle, and told him, that all these calamities arose from the slaughter of cows—and that under former governments this practice had been strictly prohibited, and the returns of the harvest had, in consequence, been always abundant, and subsistence cheap, in spite of invasion from without, insurrections within, and a good deal of misrule and oppression on the part of the local government. The holy man was enjoined by the vision to make this revelation known to the constituted authorities, and to persuade the people generally throughout the district, to join in the petition for the prohibition of *beef eating* throughout our Nerbudda territories. He got a good many of the most respectable of the landholders around him, and explained the wishes of the vision of the preceding night. A petition was soon drawn up and signed by many hundreds of the most respectable people in the district, and presented to the Governor-General's representative in these parts, Mr. F. C. Smith. Others were presented to the civil authorities of the district, and all stating in the most

respectful terms, "how sensible the people were of the inestimable benefits of our rule, and how grateful they all felt for the protection to life and property, and to the free enjoyment of all their advantages, which they had under it; and for the frequent and large reductions in the assessments, and remission in the demand on account of calamities of seasons. These, they stated, were all that government could do to relieve a suffering people, but they had all proved unavailing; and yet under this truly paternal rule the people were suffering more than under any former government in its worst period of misrule—the hand of an *incensed God* was upon them; and as they had now at last, after many fruitless attempts, discovered the real cause of this anger of the Deity, they trusted that we would listen to their prayers, and restore plenty and all its blessings to the country by prohibiting the *eating of beef*! All these dreadful evils had, they said, unquestionably originated in the (Sudder Bazar) great market of the cantonments, where, for the first time, within one hundred miles of the sacred stream of the Nerbudda, men had purchased and eaten cows' flesh!

These people were all much attached to us, and to our rule, and were many of them on the most intimate terms of social intercourse with us; and at the time they signed this petition, were entirely satisfied that they had discovered the real cause of all their sufferings, and impressed with the idea that we should be convinced, and grant their prayers. The day is past. Beef continued to be eaten with undiminished appetite—the blight, nevertheless, disappeared, and every other sign of vengeance from above; and the people are now, I believe satisfied that they were mistaken! They still think that the lands do not yield so many returns of the seed under us as under former rulers; that they have lost some of the *burkut* (blessings) which they enjoyed under them—they know not why. The fact is, that under us the lands do not enjoy the salutary fallows which

frequent invasions and civil wars used to cause under former governments. Those who survived such civil wars and invasions got better returns for their seed!

During the discussion of the question with the people, I had one day a conversation with our Sudder Ameen, or head native judicial officer, whom I have already mentioned. He told me "that there could be no doubt of the truth of the conclusion to which the people had at length come! There are," he said, "some countries in which punishments follow crimes after long intervals and, indeed, do not take place till some future birth; in others they follow crimes immediately; and such is the country bordering the stream of *Mother Nerbudda*! This," said he, "is a stream more holy than that of the great Ganges herself, since no man is supposed to derive any benefit from that stream, unless he either bathe in it or drink from it; but the *sight* of the Nerbudda from a distant hill could bless him, and purify him. In other countries the slaughter of cows and bullocks might not be punished for ages; and the harvest, in such countries, might continue good through many successive generations, under such enormities: indeed, he was not quite sure that there might not be countries in which no punishment at all would inevitably follow; but so near the Nerbudda this could not be the case! Providence could never suffer beef to be eaten so near her sacred majesty without visiting the crops with blight, hail, or some other calamity; and the people with cholera morbus, small-pox, and other great pestilences. As for himself, he should never be persuaded that all these afflictions did not arise wholly and solely from this dreadful habit of eating beef. I declare," concluded he, "that if government would but consent to prohibit the eating of beef, it might levy from the lands three times the revenue that they now pay."

The great festival of the Hooly, the saturnalia of India, terminates on the last day of Phagoon, or 16th of March. On that day the Hooly is burned; and on that day the ravages of

the monster (for monster they will have it to be) are supposed to cease. Any field that has remained untouched up to that time is considered to be quite secure from the moment the Hooly has been committed to the flames. What gave rise to the notion I have never been able to discover; but such is the general belief, I suppose the silicious epidermis must then have become too hard, and the pores in the stem too much closed up to admit of the further depredation of the fungi.

In the latter end of 1831, while I was at Sangor, a cowherd, in driving his cattle to water at a reach of the Becose river, called the Nurdhardhar, near the little village of Jusruttee, was reported to have seen a vision, that told him the waters of that reach, taken up and conveyed to the fields in pitchers, would effectually keep off the blight from the wheat, provided the pitchers were not suffered to touch the ground on the way. On reaching the field, a small hole was to be made at the bottom of the pitcher, so as to keep up a small but steady stream, as the bearer carried it round the border of the field, that the water might fall in a complete ring, except at a small opening, which was to be kept dry, in order that the *monster or demon blight* might make his escape through it, not being able to cross over any part watered by the holy stream. The waters of the Becose river generally are not supposed to have any peculiar virtues. The report of this vision spread rapidly over the country; and the people who had been suffering under so many seasons of great calamity were anxious to try anything that promised the slightest chance of relief. Every cultivator of the district prepared pots for the conveyance of this water, with tripods to support them while they rested on the road, that they might not touch the ground. The spot pointed out for taking the water was immediately under a fine large peepul-tree which had fallen into the river, and on each bank was seated a Byragee, or priest of Vishnoo. The blight began to manifest itself in the ulsee (linseed) in January, 1832, but the

wheat is never considered to be in danger till late in February, when it is nearly ripe ; and during that month and the following the banks of the river were crowded with people in search of the water. Some of these people came more than one hundred miles to fetch it ; and all seemed to feel quite sure that the holy water would save them. Each person gave the Byragee priest, of his own side of the river, two half-ponce, (copper pice,) two pice weight of ghee, (clarified butter,) and two pounds of flour, before he filled his pitcher, to secure his blessings from it. These priests were strangers ; and the offerings were entirely voluntary. The roads from this reach of the Beose river, up to the capital of the Orcha Rajah, more than a hundred miles, were literally lined with these water-carriers ; and I estimated the number of persons who passed with the water every day, for six weeks, at ten thousand a day.

After they had ceased to take the water, the banks were long crowded with people who flocked to see the place whose priests and waters had worked such miracles, and to try and discover the source whence the water derived its virtues. It was remarked by some, that the peepul-tree, which had fallen from the bank above many years before, had still continued to throw out the richest foliage from the branches above the surface of the water. Others declared that they saw a *monkey* on the bank near the spot, which no sooner perceived that it was observed, than it plunged into the stream and disappeared. Others again saw some flights of steps under the waters, indicating that it had in days of yore been the site of a temple, whose God, no doubt, gave to the waters the wonderful virtues it had been found to possess. The priests would say nothing, but " that it was the work of God ; and, like all his works, beyond the reach of man's understanding." They made their fortunes, and got up the vision and *miracle*, no doubt, for that especial purpose. As to the effect, I was told by hundreds of farmers who had tried the waters, that though it had not any-

where kept the blight off entirely from the wheat, it was found that the field which had not the advantages of water were entirely destroyed; and where the pot had been taken all round the field without leaving any dry opening for the *demon* to escape through, it was almost as bad; but when a small opening had been left, and the water carefully dropped around the field elsewhere, the crop had been very little injured, which showed clearly the efficacy of the water, when all the ceremonies and observances prescribed by the vision had been attended to!

I could never find the cowherd who was said to have seen this vision; and in speaking to my old friend, the Sudder Ameen, learned in the shastras, on the subject, I told him that we had a short saying that would explain all this—"a' drowning man catches at a straw."

"Yes," said he, without any hesitation, "and we have another just as good for the occasion: 'Sheep will follow each other though it should be into a well.'"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PESTLE AND MORTAR SUGAR-MILLS---WASHING AWAY OF THE SOIL.

ON the 13th we came on to Burwa Saugor, over a road winding amongst small ridges and conical hills, none of them much elevated or very steep; the whole being a bed of brown syenite, generally exposed to the surface in a decomposing state, intersected by veins and beds of quartz rocks, and here and there a narrow and shallow bed of dark basalt. One of these beds of basalt was converted into grey syenite by a large granular mixture of white quartz and feldspar, with the black hornblende. From this rock the people form their sugar-mills, which are made like a pestle and mortar, the mortar being cut out of the hornblende rock, and the pestle out of wood.

We saw a great many of these mortars during the march, that could not have been in use for the last half-dozen centuries, but they are precisely the same as those still used all over India. The driver sits upon the end of the horizontal beam to which the bullocks are yoked; and in cold mornings it is very common to see him with a pan of good hot embers at his buttocks, resting upon a little projection made behind him to the beam for the purpose of sustaining it. I am disposed to think that the most productive parts of the surface of Bundelcund, like that of some of the districts of the Nerbudda territories which repose upon the back of the sandstone of the Vindhya chain, is fast flowing off to the sea through the great rivers, which seem by degrees to extend the channels of their tributary at same into every man's field, to drain away its substance by degrees, for the benefit of

those who may in some future age occupy the islands of their delta. I have often seen a valuable estate reduced in value to almost nothing, in a few years, by some new *antennæ*, if I may so call them, thrown out from the tributary streams of great rivers into their richest and deepest soils. Declivities are formed, the soil gets nothing from the cultivator but the mechanical aid of the plough, and the more its surface is ploughed and cross-ploughed, the more of its substance is washed away towards the Bay of Bengal in the Ganges, or the Gulf of Cambay in the Nerbudda. In the districts of the Nerbudda, we often see these black hornblende mortars, in which sugar-canes were once pressed by a happy peasantry, now standing upon a bare and barren surface of sandstone rock, twenty feet above the present surface of the culturable lands of the country. There are evident signs of the surface on which they now stand having been that on which they were last worked. The people get more juice from their small straw-coloured canes in these pestle and mortar mills, than they can from those with cylindrical rollers in the present rude state of the mechanical arts all over India; and the straw-coloured cane is the only kind that yields good sugar. The large purple canes yield a watery and very inferior juice; and are generally, and almost universally, sold in the markets as a fruit. The straw-coloured canes, from being crowded under a very slovenly system, with little manure and less weeding, degenerate into a mere reed. The Otaheitie cane, which was introduced into India by me in 1827, has spread over the Nerbudda, and many other territories; but that that will degenerate in the same slovenly system of tillage, is too probable.



CHAPTER XXIX.

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEFS OF JANSEE—DISPUTED SUCCESSION.

ON the 14th we came on fourteen miles to Jansee. About five miles from our last ground we crossed the Byurintee river over a bed of syenite. At this river we mounted our elephant to cross, as the water was waist-deep at the ford. My wife returned to her palankeen as soon as we had crossed, but our little boy came on with me on the elephant, to meet the grand procession which I knew was approaching to greet us from the city. The Rajah of Jansee, Ram Chunder Row, died a few months ago, leaving a young widow and a mother, but no child. He was a young man of about twenty-eight years of age, timid, but of good capacity, and most amiable disposition. My duties brought us much into communication; and though we never met, we had conceived a mutual esteem for each other. He had been long suffering from an affection of the liver, and had latterly persuaded himself that his mother was practising upon his life, with a view to secure the government to the eldest son of her daughter, which would, she thought, insure the real power to her for life. That she wished him dead with this view, I had no doubt; for she had ruled the state for several years up to 1831, during what she was pleased to consider his minority; and she surrendered the power into his hands with great reluctance, since it enabled her to employ her *paramour* as minister, and enjoy his society as much as she pleased, under the pretence of holding *private councils* upon affairs of great public interest. He used to communicate his fears to me; and I was not without apprehension

that his mother might some day attempt to hasten his death by poison. About a month before his death he wrote to me to say, that spears had been found stuck in the ground under the water where he was accustomed to swim, with their sharp points upwards; and had he not, contrary to his usual practice, walked into the water, and struck his foot against one of them, he must have been killed. This was, no doubt, a thing got up by some designing person, who wanted to ingratiate himself with the young man; for the mother was too shrewd a woman ever to attempt her son's life by such awkward means. About four months before I reached the capital, this amiable young prince died, leaving two paternal uncles, a mother, a widow, and one sister, the wife of one of our Saugor pensioners, Moreesur Row. The mother claimed the inheritance for her grandson by this daughter, a very handsome young lad, then at Jansee, on the pretence that her son had adopted him on his death-bed. She had his head shaved, and made him go through all the other ceremonies of mourning, as for the death of his real father. The eldest of his uncles, Rogonath Row, claimed the inheritance as the next heir; and all his party turned the young lad out of caste as a Brahman, for daring to go into mourning for a father who was yet alive, one of the greatest of crimes, according to Hindoo law and religion, for they would not admit that he had been adopted by the deceased prince. The question of inheritance had been referred for decision to the supreme government through the prescribed channel, when I arrived; and the decision was every day expected. The mother, with her daughter and grandson, and the widow, occupied the castle situated on a high hill overlooking the city; while the two uncles of the deceased occupied their private dwelling-houses in the city below. Rogonath Row, the eldest, headed the procession that came out to meet me about three miles, mounted upon a fine female elephant, with his younger brother by his side. The minister

Naroo Gopaul, followed, mounted upon another on the part of the mother and widow. Some of the Rajah's relations were upon two of the finest male elephants I have ever seen; and some of their friends with the buckshee, or paymaster, (always an important personage,) upon two others. Rogonath Row's elephant drew up on the right of mine, and that of the minister on the left; and after the usual compliments had passed between us, all the others fell back and formed a line in our rear. They had about fifty troopers mounted upon very fine horses in excellent condition, which curvetted before and on both sides of us; together with a good many men on camels, and some four or five hundred foot attendants, all well dressed, but in various costumes. The elephants were so close to each other, that the conversation, which we managed to keep up tolerably well, was general almost all the way to our tents; every man taking a part as he found the opportunity of a pause to introduce his little compliment to the honourable Company or to myself, which I did my best to answer or divert. I was glad to see the affectionate respect with which the old man was everywhere received, for I had in my own mind no doubt whatever that the decision of the supreme government would be in his favour. The whole cortege escorted me to my tent, which was pitched on the other side; and then they took their leave, still seated on their elephants, while I sat on mine, with my boy on my knee, till all had made their bow and departed. The elephants, camels, and horses, were all magnificently caparisoned; and the housings of the whole were extremely rich. A good many of the troopers were dressed in chain-armour, which, worn outside their light-coloured quilted vests, look very like black gauze scarfs.

My little friend, the Sureemunt's own elephant, had lately died; and being unable to go to the cost of another with all its appendages, he had come on thus far on horseback. A native gentleman can never condescend to ride an elephant without a

train of at least a dozen attendants on horseback—he would almost as soon ride a horse *without a tail*. Having been considered at one time as the equal of all these Rajahs, I knew that he would feel a little mortified at finding himself buried in the crowd and dust; and invited him, as we approached the city, to take a seat by my side. This gained him consideration, and evidently gave him great pleasure. It was late before we reached our tents, as we were obliged to move slowly through the streets of the city, as well for our own convenience as for the safety of the crowd on foot before and around us. My wife, who had gone on before to avoid the crowd and dust, reached the tents half an hour before us.

In the afternoon, when my second large tent had been pitched, the minister came to pay me a visit with a large train of followers, but with little display; and I found him a very sensible, mild, and gentlemanly man, just as I expected from the high character he bears with both parties, and with the people of the country generally. Any unreserved conversation here in such a crowd was of course out of the question, and I told the minister, that it was my intention early next morning to visit the tomb of his late master; where I should be very glad to meet him if he could make it convenient to come without any ceremony. He seemed much pleased with the proposal; and next morning we met a little before sunrise within the railing that encloses the tomb or cenotaph; and there had a good deal of quiet, and, I believe, unreserved talk about the affairs of the Jansen state, and the family of the late prince. He told me, that a few hours before the Rajah's death, his mother had placed in his arms for adoption the son of his sister, a very handsome boy, about 10 or 12 years of age—but whether the Rajah was or was not sensible at the time he could not say, for he never after heard him speak; that the mother of the deceased considered the adoption as complete, and made her grandson go through the funeral ceremonies;

as for the death of his father, which for nine days were performed unmolested ; but when it came to the tenth and last—which had it passed quietly, would have been considered as completing the title of adoption—Rogonath Row and his friends interposed, and prevented further proceedings, declaring that while there were so many male heirs no son could be adopted for the deceased prince, according to the usages of the family.

The widow of the Rajah, a timid, amiable young woman, of twenty-five years of age, was by no means anxious for this adoption, having shared the suspicions of her husband regarding the practices of his mother ; and found his sister, who now resided with them in the castle, a most violent and overbearing woman, who would be likely to exclude her from all share in the administration, and make her life very miserable were her son to be declared the Rajah. Her wish was to be allowed to adopt, in the name of her deceased husband, a young cousin of his, Sadasoo, the son of Nana Bhow. Gungadhur, the younger brother of Rogonath Row, was exceedingly anxious to have his elder brother declared Rajah, because he had no sons, and, from the debilitated state of his frame, must soon die, and leave the principality to him. Every one of the three parties had sent agents to the Governor-General's representative in Bundelcund, to urge their claim ; and till the final decision, the widow of the late chief was to be considered as the sovereign. The minister told me, that there was one unanswerable argument against Rogonath Row's succession, which, out of regard to his feelings, he had not permitted himself to put forth which he wished to consult me, as a friend and physician, and his widow : this was, that he was a *leprosy*, and that the signs of the disease were becoming every day more and more manifest. I told him, that I had observed them in his face, but was not aware that any one else had noticed them. I urged him, however, not to advance this as a ground of exclusion, since they all knew him to be a very

worthy man, while his younger brother was said to be the reverse; and more especially I thought it would be very cruel and unwise to distress and exasperate him by so doing, as I had no doubt that before this ground could be brought to their notice, government would declare in his favour, right being so clearly on his side.

After an agreeable conversation with this sensible and excellent man, I returned to my tents, to prepare for the reception of Rogonath Row and his party. They came about nine o'clock with a much greater display of elephants and followers than the minister had brought with him. He and his friends kept me in close conversation till eleven o'clock, in spite of my wife's many considerate messages, to say breakfast was waiting. He told me, that the mother of the late Rajah, his nephew, was a very violent woman, who had involved the state in much trouble during the period of her regency, which she managed to prolong till her son was twenty-five years of age, and resigned with infinite reluctance only three years ago—that her minister, during her regency, Gungadhur Mooleo, was at the same time her *paramour*, and would be surely restored to power and to her embraces, were her grandson's claims to the succession recognized—that it was with great difficulty he had been able to keep this atrocious character under surveillance pending the consideration of their claims by the supreme government—that by having the head of her grandson shaved, and making him go through all the other funeral ceremonies with the other members of the family, she had involved him and his young *innocent wife* (who had unhappily continued to drink out of the same cup with her husband) in the *dreadful crime of mourning for a father whom they knew to be yet alive*, a crime that must be expiated by the *prashut*,*

* The *prashut* is an expiatory atonement, by which the person humbles himself in public. It is often imposed for crimes committed in a former birth, as indicated by afflictions suffered in this.

which would be exacted from the young couple on their return to Samor before they could be restored to their caste, from which they were now considered as excommunicated. As for the young widow she was everything they could wish; but she was so timid, that she would be governed by the old lady if she should have any ostensible part assigned her in the administration.*

I told the old gentleman, that I believed it would be my duty to pay the first visit to the widow and mother of the late prince, as one of pure condolence; and that I hoped my doing so would not be considered any mark of disrespect towards him, who must now be looked up to as the head of the family. He remonstrated against this most earnestly; and at last tears came into his eyes as he told me, that if I paid the first visit to the castle he should never again be able to show his face outside his door, so great would be the indignity he should be considered to have suffered; but rather than I should do this he would come to my tents, and escort me himself to the castle. Much was to be said on both sides of the weighty question; but at last I thought that the arguments were in his favour—that if I went to the castle first, he might possibly resent it upon the poor woman and the prime minister when he came into power, as I had no doubt he soon would; and that I might be consulting their interest as much as his feelings by going to his house first. In the evening I received a message from the old lady, urging the necessity of my paying the first visit of condolence for the

* The poor young widow died of grief some months after my visit: her spirits never rallied after the death of her husband; and she never ceased to regret, that she had not burned herself with his remains. The people of Jansee generally believe that, the prince's mother brought about his death by (deenaee) slow poison; and I am afraid that this was the impression on the mind of the poor widow. The minister, who was entirely on her side, and a most worthy and able man, was quite satisfied that this suspicion was without any foundation whatever in truth.

death of my young friend, to the widow and mother. "The rights of mothers," said she, "are respected in all countries; and in India, the first visit of condolence for the death of a man, is always due to the mother, if alive." I told the messenger that my resolution was unaltered, and would, I trusted, be found the best for all parties under present circumstances. I told him, that I dreaded the resentment towards them of Rogonath Rao, if he came into power. "Never mind that," said he; "my mistress is of too proud a spirit to dread resentment from any one—pay her the compliment of the first visit, and let her enemies do their worst!" I told him that I could leave Jansee without visiting either of them, but could not go first to the castle; and he said, that my departing thus would please the old lady better than the *second visit*! The minister would not have said this—the old lady would not have ventured to send such a message by him—the man was an understrapper; and I left him, to mount my elephant and pay my two visits.

With the best cortege I could muster, I went to Rogonath Row's, where I was received with a salute from some large guns in his courtyard, and entertained with a party of dancing girls and musicians in the usual manner. Ottar of roses and pawn were given; and valuable shawls put before me, and refused in the politest terms I could think of, such as, "Pray do me the favour to keep these things for me till I have the happiness of visiting Jansee again, as I am going through Gwalior, where nothing valuable is a moment safe from thieves." After sitting an hour, I mounted my elephant, and proceeded up to the castle, where I was received with another salute from the bastions. I sat for half an hour in the hall of audience with the minister and all the principal men of the court, as Rogonath Row was to be considered as a private gentleman till the decision of the supreme government should be made known; and the handsome young lad, Krishnu Row, whom the old woman wished to adopt, and

whom I had often seen at Saugor, was at my request brought in and seated by my side. By him I sent my message of condolence to the widow and mother of his deceased uncle, couched in the usual terms, that the happy effects of good government in the prosperity of this city, and the comfort and happiness of the people, had extended the fame of the family all over India; and that I trusted the reigning member of that family, whoever he might be, would be sensible, that it was his duty to sustain that reputation by imitating the example of those who had gone before him. After ottar of roses and pawn had been handed round in the usual manner, I went to the summit of the highest tower in the castle, which commands an extensive view of the country around.

The castle stands upon the summit of a small hill of syenitic rock. The elevation of the outer wall is about one hundred feet above the level of the plain; and the top of the tower on which I stood about one hundred feet more, as the buildings rise gradually from the sides to the summit of the hill. The city extends out into the plain to the east from the foot of the hill on which the castle stands. Around the city there is a good deal of land irrigated from four or five tanks in the neighbourhood, and now under rich wheat crops: and the gardens are very numerous, and abound in all the fruit and vegetables that the people most like. Oranges are very abundant and very fine; and our tents have been actually buried in them, and all the other fruits and vegetables which the kind people of Jansee have poured in upon us. The city of Jansee contains about sixty-thousand inhabitants; and is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets. There are some very beautiful temples in the city, all built by Goosaens, one of the priests of Sewa, who here engage in trade and accumulate much wealth.* The family of the chiefs do not build tombs; and

* These buildings are both tombs and temples: the Goosaens of Jansee do not burn but bury their dead and over the grave, those who can afford to do so, raise a handsome temple, and dedicate it to Sewa.

that now raised over the place where the late prince was burned is dedicated, as a temple, to Sewa ; and was made merely with a view to secure the place from all danger of profanation. The ashes themselves were taken to the Ganges, and deposited in the holy stream with the usual ceremonies.

The face of the country beyond the influence of the tanks is neither rich nor interesting. The cultivation seemed scanty and the population thin, owing to the irremediable sterility of soil from the poverty of the primitive rock, from whose detritus it is chiefly formed. Rogonath Row told me, that the wish of the people in the castle to adopt a child as the successor to his nephew, arose from the desire to escape the scrutiny into the past accounts of disbursements which he might be likely to order. I told him, that I had myself no doubt that he would be declared the Rajah ; and urged him to turn all his thoughts to the future ; and to allow no inquiries to be made into the past, with a view to gratify either his own resentment or that of others ; that the Rajahs of Jansee had hitherto been served by the most respectable, able, and honourable men in the country, while the other chiefs of Bundelcund could get no man of this class to do their work for them—that this was the only court in Bundelcund in which such men could be seen, simply because it was the only one in which they could feel themselves secure—while other chiefs confiscated the property of ministers who had served them with fidelity, on the pretence of embezzlement ; the wealth thus acquired, however, soon disappearing, and its possessors being obliged either to conceal it or to go out of the country to enjoy it. Such rulers thus found their courts and capitals deprived of all those men of wealth and respectability who adorned the courts of princes in other countries ; and embellished not merely their capitals but the face of their dominions in general with their chateaus and other works of ornament and utility. Much more of this sort passed between us, and seemed to make an impression upon him ; for he

promised to do all that I had recommended to him. Poor man! he can have but a short and miserable existence, for that dreadful disease, the leprosy, is making sad inroads upon his system already.* His uncle, Rogonath Row, was afflicted with it; and having understood from the priests, that by *drowning* himself in the Ganges, (taking the *sumād*,) he should remove all traces of it from his family, he went to Benares, and there drowned himself, some twenty years ago. He had no children, and is said to have been the first of his family in whom the disease showed itself.†

* This chief died of leprosy in May, 1838.

† Rogonath Row was the first of his family invested by the Peshwa with the government of the Jansee territory, which he had acquired from the Bundelcund chiefs. He went to Benares in 1795 to drown himself, leaving the government to his third brother, Sewram Bhow, as his next brother, Luchman Row was dead, and his sons were considered incapable. Sewram Bhow died in 1815, and his eldest son, Krishnu Row, had died four years before him in 1811, leaving one son, the late Rajah, and two daughters. This was a noble sacrifice to what he had been taught, by his spiritual teachers, to consider as a duty towards his family; and we must admire the man, while we condemn the religion and the priests. There is no country in the world where parents are more revered than in India; or where they more readily make sacrifices of all sorts for their children, or for those they consider as such. We succeeded in 1817 to all the rights of the Peshwa in Bundelcund; and with great generosity converted the viceroys of Jansee and Jhalone into independent sovereigns of hereditary principalities, yielding each ten lacs of rupees.



CHAPTER XXX.

HAUNTED VILLAGES.

ON the 16th, we came on nine miles to Amabae, the frontier village of the Jansee territory, bordering upon Duteea where I had to receive the farewell visits of many members of the Jansee parties, who came on to have a quiet opportunity to assure me, that, whatever may be the final order of the supreme government, they will do their best for the good of the people and the state, in whose welfare I feel great interest, for I have always considered Jansee among the native states of Bundelcund as a kind of oasis in the desert—the only one in which man can accumulate property with the confidence of being permitted by its rulers freely to display and enjoy it. I had also to receive the visit of messengers from the Rajah of Duteea, at whose capital we were to encamp the next day; and finally, to take leave of my amiable little friend the Sureemunt, who here left me on his return to 'Saugor, with a heavy heart I really believe.

We talked of the common belief among the agricultural classes, of villages being haunted by the spirits of ancient proprietors, whom it was thought necessary to propitiate. "He knew," he said, "many instances where these spirits were so very froward, that the present heads of the villages which they haunted, and the members of their little communities, found it almost impossible to keep them in good humour; and their cattle and children were, in consequence, always liable to serious accidents of one kind or another. Sometimes they were bitten

by snakes, sometimes became possessed by devils; and at others, were thrown down and beaten most unmercifully." Any person who falls down in an epileptic fit, is supposed to be thrown down by a ghost, or possessed by a devil. They feel little of our mysterious dread of ghosts—a sound *drubbing* is what they dread from them; and he who hurts himself in one of these fits is considered to have got it. "As for himself, whenever he found any one of the villages upon his estate haunted by the spirit of an old patel, (village proprietor,) he always made a point of giving him a *neet little shrine*; and having it well endowed and attended, to keep him in good humour: this he thought was a duty that every landlord owed to the tenants!" Ram Chund, the Pundit, said, "That villages which had been held by old Gond (mountaineer) proprietors were more liable than any other to those kinds of visitations—that it was easy to say what village was and was not haunted; but often exceedingly difficult to discover to whom the ghost belonged! This once discovered, his nearest surviving relation was, of course, expected to take steps to put him to rest; but," said he, "it is wrong to suppose that the ghost of an old proprietor, must be always doing mischief—he is often the best friend of the cultivators, and of the present proprietor, too, if he treats him with proper respect; for he will not allow the people of any other village to encroach upon their boundaries with impunity; and they will be saved all the expense and annoyance of a reference to the Adawlut (judicial tribunals) for the settlement of boundary disputes. It will not cost much to conciliate these spirits; and the money is generally well laid out!"

Several anecdotes were told me in illustration; and all that I could urge against the probability or possibility of such visitations appeared to them very inconclusive and unsatisfactory; they mentioned the case of the family of village proprietors in the Saugor district, who had for several generations, at every new

settlement, insisted upon having the name of the spirit of the old proprietor of another tribe inserted in the lease instead of their own, and thereby secured his good graces on all occasions. Mr. Fraser had before mentioned this case to me. In August, 1834, while engaged in the settlement of the land revenue of the Saugor district for twenty years, he was about to deliver the lease of the estate made out in due form to the head of the family, a very honest and respectable old gentleman, when he asked him, respectfully, in whose name it had been made out? "In yours to be sure; have you not renewed your lease for twenty years?" The old man, in a state of great alarm, begged him to have it altered immediately, or he and his family would all be destroyed—that the spirit of the ancient proprietor presided over the village community and its interests; and that all affairs of importance were transacted in his name. "He is," said the old man, "a very jealous spirit; and will not admit of any living man being considered, for a moment, as a proprietor or joint proprietor of the estate! It has been held by me and my ancestors immediately under government for many generations; but the lease deeds have always been made out in his name; and ours have been inserted merely as his managers, or bailiffs—were this good old rule, under which we have so long prospered, to be now infringed, we should all perish under his anger." Mr. Fraser found, upon inquiry, that this had really been the case; and, to relieve the old man and his family from their fears, he had the papers made out afresh, and the *ghost* inserted as the proprietor! The modes of flattering and propitiating these beings, natural and supernatural, who are supposed to have the power to do mischief, are endless.

While I was in charge of the district of Nursingpore, in the valley of the Nerbudda, in 1823, a cultivator of the village of Bedod, about twelve miles distant from my court, was one day engaged in the cultivation of his field on the border of the village

of Burkharā, which was supposed to be haunted by the spirit of an old proprietor, whose temper was so froward and violent that the lands could hardly be let for anything; for hardly any man would venture to cultivate them lest he might unintentionally incur his ghostship's displeasure. The poor cultivator, after begging his pardon in secret, ventured to drive his plough a few yards beyond the proper line of his boundary, and thus to add half an acre of the lands of Burkharā to his own little tenement, which was situated in Bedoo. That very night his only son was bitten by a snake, and his two bullocks were seized with the murrain. In terror he went off to the village temple, confessed his sin, and vowed not only to restore the half acre of land to the village of Burkharā, but to build a very handsome shrine upon the spot as a perpetual sign of his repentance. The boy and the bullocks all three recovered, and the shrine was built; and is, I believe, still to be seen as the boundary mark!

The fact was, that the village stood upon an elevated piece of ground rising out of a moist plain, and a colony of snakes had taken up their abode in it. The bites of these snakes had, on many occasions, proved fatal; and such accidents were all attributed to the anger of a spirit which was supposed to haunt the village. At one time, under the former government, no one would take a lease of the village on any terms; and it had become almost entirely deserted, though the soil was the finest in the whole district. With a view to remove the whole prejudices of the people, the governor, Goroba Pundit, took the lease himself at the rent of one thousand rupees a year; and in the month of June went from his residence, twelve miles, with ten of his own ploughs, to superintend the commencement of so *perilous* an undertaking. On reaching the middle of the village, situated on the top of the little hill, he alighted from his horse, sat down upon a carpet that had been spread for him under a large and beautiful banyan tree, and began to refresh himself with a

pipe before going to work in the fields. As he quaffed his hookah, and railed at the follies of men, "whose absurd superstitions had made them desert so beautiful a village with so noble a tree in its centre," his eyes fell upon an enormous black snake which had coiled round one of its branches immediately over his head, and seemed as if resolved at once to pounce down and punish him for his blasphemy! He gave his pipe to his attendant, mounted his horse, from which the saddle had not yet been taken, and never pulled rein till he got home. Nothing could ever induce him to visit this village again, though he was afterwards employed under me as a native collector; and he has often told me that he verily believed this was the spirit of the old landlord that he had unhappily neglected to propitiate before taking possession!

My predecessor in the civil charge of that district, the late Mr Lindsay, of the Bengal civil service, again tried to remove the prejudices of the people against the occupation and cultivation of this fine village. It had never been measured; and all the revenue officers, backed by all the farmers and cultivators of the neighbourhood, declared that the spirit of the old proprietor would never allow it to be so. Mr. Lindsay was a good geometer, and had long been in the habit of superintending his revenue surveys himself; and on this occasion he thought himself particularly called upon to do so. A new measuring cord was made for the occasion, and with fear and trembling all his officers attended him to the first field; but in measuring it the rope, by some accident, broke! Poor Lindsay was that morning taken ill, and obliged to return to Nursingpore, where he died soon after from fever. No man was ever more beloved by all classes of the people of his district than he was; and I believe there was not one person among them who did not believe him to have fallen a victim to the resentment of the spirit of the old proprietor. When I went to the village some years afterwards,

the people in the neighbourhood all declared to me, that they saw the cord with which he was measuring fly into a thousand pieces the moment the men attempted to straighten it over the first field.

A very respectable old gentleman from the Concan, or Malabar coast, told me one day, that every man there protects his field of corn and his fruit tree by dedicating it to one or other of the spirits which there abound, or confiding it to his guardianship. He sticks up something in the field, or ties on something to the tree, in the name of the said spirit, who from that moment feels himself responsible for its safe keeping. If any one, without permission from the proprietor, presumes to take either an ear of corn from the field, or fruit from the tree, he is sure to be killed outright or made extremely ill. "No other protection is required," said the old gentleman, "for our fields and fruit trees in that direction, though whole armies should have to march through them. I once saw a man come to the proprietor of a jack tree, embrace his feet, and in the most piteous manner implore his protection. He asked what was the matter. 'I took,' said the man, 'a jack from your tree yonder three days ago, as I passed at night; and I have been suffering dreadful agony in my stomach ever since. The spirit of the tree is upon me, and you only can pacify him.' The proprietor took up a bit of cow-dung, moistened it, and made a mark with it upon the man's forehead *in the name of the spirit*, and put some of it into the knot of hair on the top of his head. He had no sooner done this, than the man's pains all left him, and he went off, vowing never again to give similar cause of offence to one of these guardian spirits." "Men," said my old friend, "do not die there in the same regulated spirit, with their thoughts directed exclusively towards God, as in other parts, and whether a man's spirit is to haunt the world or not after his death all depends on that."

CHAPTER XXXI

INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH OF DUTEEA—FISCAL ERRORS OF
STATESMEN—THIEVES AND ROBBERS BY PROFESSION.

ON the 17th, we came to Duteea, nine miles, over a dry and poor soil, thinly and only partially covering a bed of brown and grey syenite, with veins of quartz and feldspar, and here and there dykes of basalt, and a few boulders scattered over the surface. The old Rajah, Paureechut, on one elephant, and his cousin, Duleep Sing, upon a second, and several of their relations upon others, all splendidly caparisoned, came out two miles to meet us, with a very large and splendid cortege. My wife, as usual, had gone on in her palankeen very early, to avoid the crowd and dust of this *istakbal*, or meeting; and my little boy, Henry, went on at the same time in the palankeen, having got a slight fever from too much exposure to the sun in our slow and stately entrance into Jansee. There were more men in steel chain armour in this cortége than in that of Jansee; and though the elephants were not quite so fine, they were just as numerous, while the crowd of foot attendants was still greater. They were in fancy dresses, individually handsome, and collectively picturesque; though, being all soldiers, not quite pleasing to the eye of a soldier. I remarked to the Rajah, as we rode side by side on our elephants, that we attached much importance to having our soldiers all in uniform dresses, according to their corps, while he seemed to care little about these matters. "Yes," said the old man, with a smile, "with me every man pleases himself in his dress; and I care not what he wears, provided he is neat and clean." They

certainly formed a body more picturesque, from being allowed individually to consult their own fancies in their dresses, for the native taste in dress is generally very good. Our three elephants came on abreast; and the Rajah and I conversed as freely as men in such situations can converse. He is a stout, cheerful, old gentleman, as careless apparently about his own dress as about that of his soldiers; and a much more sensible and agreeable person than I expected; and I was sorry to learn from him, that he had for twelve years been suffering from an attack of sciatica on one side, which had deprived him of the use of one of his legs. I was obliged to consent to halt the next day, that I might hunt in his preserve (*rumna*) in the morning, and return his visit in the evening. In the Rajah's cortège there were several men mounted on excellent horses, who carried guitars, and played upon them, and sang in a very agreeable style. I had never before seen or heard of such a band; and was both surprised and pleased.

The great part of the wheat, grain, and other exportable land produce which the people consume, as far as we have yet come, is drawn from our Nerbudda districts, and those of Malwa which border upon them; and *par consequent*, the price has been rapidly increasing as we recede from them in our advance northward. Were the soil of those Nerbudda districts, situated as they are at such a distance from any great market, for their agricultural products, as bad as it is in the parts of Bundelcund that I came over, no net surplus revenue could possibly be drawn from them in the present state of arts and industry. The high prices paid here for land produce, arising from the necessity of drawing a great part of what is consumed from such distant lands, enables the Rajahs of these Bundelcund states to draw the large revenue they do. These chiefs expend the whole of their revenue in the maintenance of public establishments of one kind or other; and as the essential articles of subsistence, *wheat and grain, &c.*

which are produced in their own districts, or those immediately around them, are not sufficient for the supply of these establishments, they must draw them from distant territories. All this produce is brought on the backs of bullocks, because there is no road from the districts whence they obtain it, over which a wheeled carriage can be drawn with safety; and as this mode of transit is very expensive, the price of the produce, when it reaches the capitals, around which these local establishments are concentrated, becomes very high. They must pay a price equal to the collective cost of purchasing and bringing this substance from the most distant districts, to which they are at any time obliged to have recourse for a supply, or they will not be supplied; and as there cannot be two prices for the same thing in the same market, the wheat and gram produced in the neighbourhood of one of these Bundelcund capitals, fetch as high a price there as that brought from the most remote districts on the banks of the Nerhudda river; while it costs comparatively nothing to bring it from the former lands to the markets. Such lands, in consequence, yield a rate of rent much greater compared with their natural powers of fertility than those of the remotest districts whence produce is drawn for these markets or capitals; and as all the lands are the property of the Rajahs, they draw all these rents as revenue.*

Were we to take this revenue, which the Rajahs now enjoy, in tribute for the maintenance of public establishments concentrated at distant seats, all these local establishments would of course be at once disbanded; and all the effectual demand which they afford for the raw agricultural produce of distant districts, would cease. The price of this produce would diminish in proportion; and with

* Bundelcund exports to the Ganges a great quantity of cotton, which enables it to pay for the wheat, grain, and other land produce which it draws from distant districts.

it the value of the lands of the districts around such capitals. Hence the folly of conquerors and paramount powers, from the days of the Greeks and Romans down to those of Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm, who were all bad political economists, supposing that conquered and ceded territories could always be made to yield to a foreign state the same amount of gross revenue as they had paid to their domestic government, whatever their situation with reference to the markets for their produce—whatever the state of their arts and their industry—and whatever the character and extent of the local establishments maintained out of it. The settlements of the land revenue in all the territories acquired in Central India during the Mahratta war, which ended, in 1817, were made upon the supposition, that the lands would continue to pay the same rate of rent under the new, as they had paid under the old government, uninfluenced by the diminution of all local establishments, civil and military, to one-tenth of what they had been; that, under the new order of things, all the waste lands must be brought into tillage, and be able to pay as high a rate of rent as those before in tillage; and, consequently, that the aggregate available net revenue must greatly and rapidly increase! Those who had the making of the settlements, and the governing of these new territories, did not consider, that the diminution of every establishment was the removal of a market—of an effectual demand for land produce; and that when all the waste lands should be brought into tillage, the whole would deteriorate in fertility, from the want of fallows, under the prevailing system of agriculture, which afforded the lands no other means of renovation from over cropping. The settlements of the land revenue which were made throughout our new acquisitions upon these fallacious assumptions, of course failed. During a series of quinquennial settlements, the assessment has been everywhere gradually reduced to about two-thirds of what it was when our rule began; and to

less than one-half of what Sir John Malcolm, and all the other local authorities, and even the worthy Marquis of Hastings himself, under the influence of their opinions, expected it would be. The land revenues of the native princes of central India, who reduced their public establishments, which the new order of things seemed to render useless, and thereby diminished their only markets for the raw produce of their lands, have been everywhere falling off in the same proportion; and scarcely one of them now draws two-thirds of the income he drew from the same lands in 1817.

There are in the valley of the Nerbudda, districts that yield a great deal more produce every year than either Orcha, Jansee, or Duteea; and yet, from the want of the same domestic markets, they do not yield one-fourth of the amount of land revenue. The lands are, however, rated equally high to the assessment, in proportion to their value to the farmers and cultivators. To enable them to yield a larger revenue to government, they require to have larger establishments as markets for land produce. These establishments may be either public, and paid by government, or they may be private, as manufactories, by which the land produce of these districts would be consumed by people employed in investing the value of their labour in commodities suited to the demand of distant markets, and more valuable than land produce in proportion to their weight and bulk. These are the establishments which government should exert itself to introduce and foster, since the valley of the Nerbudda, in addition to a soil exceedingly fertile, has in its whole line, from its source to its embouchure rich beds of coal reposing for the use of future generations, under the sand stone of the Sathpore and Vindhya ranges; and beds no less rich of very fine iron. These advantages have not yet been justly appreciated; but they will be so by-and-bye.

About half-past four in the afternoon of the day we reached Duteea, I had a visit from the Rajah, who came in his palankeen,

with a very respectable, but not very numerous or noisy train; and he sat with me about an hour. My large tents were both pitched parallel to each other, about twenty paces distant, and united to each other at both ends by separate kanats, or cloth curtains. My little boy was present, and behaved extremely well in steadily refusing, without even a look from me, a handful of gold mohurs, which the Rajah pressed several times upon his acceptance. I received him at the door of my tent, and supported him upon my arm to his chair, as he cannot walk without some slight assistance, from the affection already mentioned in his leg. A salute from the guns of his castle announced his departure and return to it. After the audience, Lieutenant Thomas and I ascended to the summit of a palace of the former Rajahs of this state, which stands upon a high rock close inside the eastern gate of the city, whence we could see, to the west of the city a still larger and handsomer palace standing. I asked our conductors, the Rajah's servants, why it was unoccupied. "No prince of these degenerate days," said they, "could muster a family and court worthy of such a palace—the family and court of the largest of them would, within the walls of such a building, feel as if they were in a desert! Such palaces were made for princes of the older times, who were quite different beings from those of the present days."

From the deserted palace, we went to the new garden which is being prepared for the young Rajah, an adopted son of about ten years of age. It is close to the southern wall of the city, and is very extensive and well managed. The orange-trees are all grafted, and sinking under the weight of as fine fruit as any in India. Attempting to ascend the steps of an empty bungalow, upon a raised terrace at the southern extremity of the garden, the attendants told us respectfully, that they hoped we would take off our shoes if we wished to enter, as the ancestor of the Rajah, by whom it was built, Ram Chund, had lately become a god, and was there worshipped! The roof is of stone, supported

on carved stone pillars. On the centre pillar, upon a ground of whitewash, is a hand or trident. This is the only sign of a sacred character the building has yet assumed; and I found that it owed this character of sanctity to the circumstance of some one having vowed an offering to the manes of the builder, if he obtained what his soul most desired; and, having obtained it, all the people believe that those who do the same at the same place, in a pure spirit of faith, will obtain what they pray for!

I made some inquiries about Hurdoul Lala, the son of Birsingdes, who built the fort of Dhumoree, one of the ancestors of the Duteah Rajah, and found that he was as much worshipped here, at his birth-place, as upon the banks of the Nerbudda; as the supposed great *originator* of the cholera morbus. There is at Duteea a temple dedicated to him, and much frequented; and one of the priests brought me a flower in his name, and chanted something indicating that Hurdoul Lala was now worshipped even so far as the British *capital of Calcutta*! I asked the old prince what he thought of the origin of the worship of this his ancestor; and he told me, "that when the cholera broke out first in the camp of Lord Hastings, then pitched about three stages from his capital, on the bank of the Sinde, at Chandpore Sonari, several people recovered from the disease immediately after making votive offerings in his name; and that he really thought the spirit of his great grandfather had worked some wonderful cures upon people afflicted with this dreadful malady!

The town of Duteea contains a population of between forty and fifty thousand souls. The streets are narrow—for in buildings, as in dress, the Rajah allows every man to consult his own inclinations. There are, however, a great many excellent houses in Duteea; and the appearance of the place is altogether very good. Many of his feudatory chiefs reside occasionally in the city, and have all their establishments with them—a practice which does not, I believe, prevail anywhere else among these Bundelcund

chiefs; and this makes the capital much larger, handsomer, and more populous than that of Tehree. This indicates more of mutual confidence between the chief and his vassals, and accords well with the character they bear in the surrounding countries. Some of the houses occupied by these barons are very pretty. They spend the revenue of their distant estates in adorning them, and embellishing the capital, which they certainly could not have ventured to do under the late Rajahs of Tehree, and may not possibly be able to do under the further Rajahs of Duteea! The present minister of Duteea, Gunesh, is a very great knave, and encourages the residence upon his master's estate of all kinds of thieves and robbers, who bring back from distant districts every season vast quantities of booty, which they share with him. The chief himself is a mild old gentleman, who would not suffer violence to be offered to any of his nobles, though he would not, perhaps, quarrel with his minister for getting for him a little addition to his revenue from without, by affording a sanctuary to such kinds of people. As in Tehree, so here, the pickpockets constitute the entire population of several villages, and carry their depredations northward to the banks of the Indus, and southward to Bombay and Madras. But colonies of thieves and robbers like these, abound no less in our own territories than in those of native states; there are more than a thousand families of them in the districts of Mozaffernugur, Saharanpore, and Meerut, in the Upper Doab, all well enough known to the local authorities, who can do nothing with them. They extend their depredations into remote districts, and the booty they bring home with them they share liberally with the native police and landholders under whose protection they live. Many landholders and police officers make large fortunes from the share they get of this booty. Magistrates in our districts do not molest them, because they would despair of ever finding the proprietors of the property that might be found upon them; and if they could trace them, they would never be

able to persuade them to come and “enter upon a worse than sea of troubles,” in prosecuting them. These thieves and robbers of the professional classes, who have the sagacity to avoid plundering near home, are always just as secure in our best regulated districts, as they are in the worst native states, from the only three things which such depredators care about—the penal laws, the odium of the society in which they move, and the vengeance of the god they worship; and they are always well received in the society around them, as long as they can avoid having their neighbours annoyed by summonses to give evidence for or against them in our courts. They feel quite sure of the good will of the god they worship, provided they give a fair share of their booty to his priests; and no less secure of impunity from penal laws, except on the very rare occasions when they happen to be taken in the fact, in a country where such laws happen to be in force.



CHAPTER XXXII.



SPORTING AT DUTEEA—FIDELITY OF FOLLOWERS TO THEIR CHIEFS IN
INDIA—LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE WANTING AMONG MAHOMEDANS.

THE morning after we reached Duteea, I went out with Lieutenant Thomas to shoot and hunt in the Rajah's large preserve; and with the *humane* and determined resolution of killing no more game than our camp would be likely to eat; for we were told that the deer and wild hogs were so very numerous that we might shoot just as many as we pleased. We were posted upon two terraces—one near the gateway, and the other in the centre of the preserve; and after waiting here an hour we got each a shot at a hog. Hares we saw, and might have shot; but we had loaded all our barrels with ball for higher game. We left the Rumna, which is a quadrangle of about one hundred acres of thick grass, shrubs, and brushwood, enclosed by a high stone wall. There is one gate on the west side, and this is kept open during the night, to let the game out and in. It is shut and guarded during the day, when the animals are left to repose in the shade, except on such occasions as the present, when the Rajah wants to give his guests a morning's sport. On the plains and woods outside we saw a good many large deer, but could not manage to get near them in our own way, and had not patience to try that of the natives, so that we came back without killing anything, or having had any occasion to exercise our *forbearance*. The Rajah's people, as soon as we left them, went about their sport after their own fashion; and brought us a fine buck antelope after breakfast. They have a

bullock trained to go about the fields with them, led at a quick pace by a halter, with which the sportsman guides him as he walks along with him by the side opposite to that facing the deer he is in pursuit of. He goes round and round the deer as he grazes in the field, shortening his distance at every circle till he comes within shot. At the signal given the bullock stands still; and the sportsman rests his gun upon his back and fires. They seldom miss. Others go with a fine buck and doe antelope, tame, and trained to browse upon the fresh bushes, which are woven for the occasion into a kind of hand-hurdle, behind which a man creeps along over the fields towards the herd of wild ones, or sits still with his matchlock ready and pointed out through the leaves. The herd, seeing the male and female strangers so very busily and agreeably employed upon their apparently inviting repast, advance to accost them, and are shot when they get within a secure distance. The hurdle was filled with branches from the dhow (*Lythrum fructuosum*) tree, of which the jungle is for the most part composed, plucked as we went along; and the tame antelopes, having been kept long fasting for the purpose, fed eagerly upon them. We had also two pairs of falcons; but a knowledge of the brutal manner in which these birds are fed and taught, is enough to prevent any but a *brute* from taking much delight in the sport they afford.

The officer who conducted us was evidently much disappointed, for he was really very anxious, as he knew his master the Rajah was, that we should have a good day's sport. On our way back I made him ride by my side, and talk to me about Duteea, since he had been unable to show me any sport. I got his thoughts into a train that I knew would animate him, if he had any soul at all for poetry or poetical recollections, as I thought he had. "The noble works in palaces, and temples," said he, "which you see around you, sir, mouldering in ruins, were built by princes who had beaten emperors in battle; and whose spirits still hover over

and protect the place. Several times, under the late disorders which preceded your paramount rule in Hindoostan, when hostile forces assembled around us and threatened our capital with destruction, lights and elephants innumerable were seen from the tops of those battlements, passing and repassing under the walls, ready to defend them, had the enemy attempted an assault. Whenever our soldiers endeavoured to approach near them they disappeared; and everybody knew that they were spirits of men like *Birsing Deo* and *Hurdoul Lala* that had come to our aid, and we never lost confidence!" It is easy to understand the devotion of men to their chiefs, when they believe their progenitors to have been demigods, and to have been faithfully served by their ancestors for several generations. We neither have, nor ever can have, servants so personally devoted to us as these men are to their chiefs, though we have soldiers who will fight under our banners with as much courage and fidelity. They know that their grandfathers served the grandfathers of these chiefs, and they hope their grandchildren will serve their grandsons. The one feels as much pride and pleasure in so serving, as the other in being so served; and both hope that the link which binds them may never be severed. Our servants, on the contrary, private and public, are always in dread that some accident—some trivial fault, or some slight offence, not to be avoided—will sever for ever the link that binds them to their master.

The fidelity of the military classes of the people of India to their immediate chief, or leader, whose *salt they eat*, has been always very remarkable, and commonly bears little reference to his *moral virtues*, or conduct towards his superiors. They feel that it is their duty to serve him who feeds and protects them and their families, in all situations, and under all circumstances; and the chief feels, that while he has a right to their services, it is his imperative duty so to feed and protect them and their

families. He may change sides as often as he pleases, but the relations between him and his followers remain unchanged. About the side he chooses to take in a contest for dominion, they ask no questions, and feel no responsibility. God has placed their destinies in dependence upon his; and to him they cling to the last. In Malwa, Bhopal, and other parts of central India, the Mahomedan rule could be established over that of the Rajpoot chiefs, only by the entire annihilation of the race of their followers. In no part of the world has the devotion of soldiers to their immediate chief, been more remarkable than in India among the Rajpoots; and in no part of the world has the fidelity of these chiefs to the paramount power been more unsteady, or their devotion less to be relied upon. The laws of Mahomed, which prescribe that the property in land shall be divided equally among the sons, leaves no rule for succession to territorial or political dominion. It has been justly observed by Hume—"The right of primogeniture was introduced with the feudal law; an institution which is hurtful, by producing and maintaining an unequal division of property; but it is advantageous in another respect, by accustoming the people to a preference in favour of the eldest son, and thereby preventing a partition or disputed succession in the monarchy."

Among the Mahomedan princes there was no law that bound the whole members of a family to obey the eldest son of a deceased prince. Every son of the Emperor of Hindoostan considered that he had a right to set up his claim to the throne, vacated by the death of his father; and, in anticipation of that death, to strengthen his means of establishing such claim by negotiations and intrigues with all the territorial chiefs and influential nobles of the empire. However *prejudicial to the interests* of his elder brothers such measures might be, they were never considered to be an *invasion of his rights*, because such rights had never been established by the laws of their prophet. As all the sons con-

sidered that they had an equal right to solicit the support of the chiefs and nobles, so all the chiefs and nobles considered that they could adopt the cause of whichever *son* they chose, without incurring the reproach of either *treason* or dishonour. The one who succeeded thought himself justified by the law of self-preservation, to put, not only his brothers, but all their sons to death ; so that there was, after every new succession, an entire *clearance* of all the male members of the imperial family ! Ourungzebe said to his pedantic tutor, who wished to be raised to high station on his accession to the imperial throne, " Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me some-what of that point so important to a king, which is, what are the reciprocal duties of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of the subjects to their sovereign ? And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged, with the sword, to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers ? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Hindoostan ? " * Now that they have become pensioners of the British government, the members increase like white ants ; and, as Malthus has it, "press so hard against their means of subsistence," that a great many of them are absolutely starving, in spite of the enormous pension the head of the family receives for their maintenance !

The city of Duteea is surrounded by a stone wall about thirty feet high, with its foundation on a solid rock ; but it has no ditch or glacis, and is capable of little or no defence against cannon. In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas, and followed by the best cortege we could muster, to return the Rajah's visit. He resides within the walls of the city in a large square garden, enclosed with a high wall, and filled with fine orange trees, at this time bending under the weight of the most delicious fruit. The old chief received us at the

bottom of a fine flight of steps leading up to a handsome pavilion, built upon the wall of one of the faces of this garden. It was enclosed at the back, and in front looked into the garden through open arcades. The floors were spread with handsome carpets of the Jansee manufacture. In front of the pavilion was a wide terrace of polished stone, extending to the top of the flight of steps; and in the centre of this terrace, and directly opposite to us, as we looked out into the garden, was a fine jet d'eau in a large basin of water in full play, and with its shower of diamonds, showing off the rich green and red of the orange trees to the best advantage.

The large quadrangle thus occupied is called the killah or fort, and the wall that surrounds it is thirty feet high, with a round embattled tower at each corner. On the east face is a fine large gateway for the entrance, with a curtain as high as the wall itself. Inside the gate is a piece of ordnance painted red, with the largest calibre I ever saw. This is fired once a year, at the festival of the Dusera. Our arrival at the wall was announced by a salute from some fine brass guns upon the bastions near the gateway. As we advanced from the gateway up through the garden to the pavilion, we were again serenaded by our friends with their guitars and excellent voices. They were now on foot, and arranged along both sides of the walk that we had to pass through. The open garden space within the walls appeared to me to be about ten acres. It is crossed and recrossed at right angles by numerous walks, having rows of plantain and other fruit-trees on each side; and orange, pomegranate, and other small fruit trees to fill the space between; and anything more rich and luxuriant one can hardly conceive. In the centre of the north and west sides are pavilions with apartments for the family above, behind, and on each side of the great reception room, exactly similar to that in which we were received on the south face. The whole formed, I think, the most delightful

residence that I have seen, for a hot climate. There is, however, no doubt that the most healthy stations in this, and every other hot climate, are those situated upon dry, open sandy plains; with neither shrubberies nor basins.

We were introduced to the young Rajah, the old man's adopted son, a lad of about ten years of age, who is to be married in February next. He is plain in person, but has a pleasing expression of countenance; and if he be moulded after the old man, and not after his minister, the country may perhaps have in him the "*lucky accident*" of a good governor.* I have rarely seen a finer or more prepossessing man than the Rajah, and all his subjects speak well of him. We had an elephant, a horse, abundance of shawls, and other fine clothes placed before us as presents; but I prayed the old gentleman to keep them all for me till I returned, as I was a mere voyager without the means of carrying such valuable things in safety; but he would not be satisfied till I had taken two plain hilts of swords, and two spears, the manufacture of Duteea, and of little value, which Lieutenant Thomas and I promised to keep for his sake. The rest of the presents were all taken back to their places. After an hour's talk with the old man and his ministers, ottar of roses and pawn were distributed, and we took our leave to go and visit the old palace, which, as yet, we had seen only from a distance. There were only two men beside the Rajah, his son, and ourselves, seated upon chairs. All the other principal persons of the court sat around cross-legged on the carpet; but they joined freely in

* This lad has since succeeded his adoptive father as the chief of the Duteea principality. The old chief found him one day lying in the grass, as he was shooting through one of his preserves. His elephant was very near treading upon the infant before he saw it. He brought home the boy, adopted him as his son, and declared him his successor, from having no son of his own. The British government, finding that the people generally seemed to acquiesce in the old man's wishes, sanctioned the measure as the paramount power.

the conversation. I was told by these courtiers how often the young chief had, during the day, asked when he would have the happiness of seeing me; and the old chief was told, in my hearing, how many *good things* I had said since I came into his territories, all tending to his honour and my credit. This is a species of barefaced flattery, to which we are all doomed to submit in our intercourse with these native chiefs; but still, to a man of sense, it never ceases to be distressing and offensive; for he can hardly ever help feeling that they must think him a mere child before they could venture to treat him with it. This is, however, to put too harsh a construction upon what, in reality, the people mean only as civility; and they who can so easily consider the grandfathers of their chiefs as gods, and worship them as such, may be suffered to treat us as heroes and sayers of good things without offence!

We ascended to the summit of the old palace, and were well repaid for the trouble by the view of an extremely rich sheet of wheat, grain, and other spring crops, extending to the north and east, as far as the eye could reach, from the dark belt of forest, three miles deep, with which the Rajah has surrounded his capital on every side, as hunting grounds! The lands comprised in this forest are, for the most part, exceedingly poor, and water for irrigation is unattainable within them, so that little is lost by this taste of the chief for the sports of the field, in which, however, he cannot himself now indulge.

On the 19th we left Dutcea, and after emerging from the surrounding forest came over a fine plain covered with rich spring crops for ten miles, till we entered among the ravines of the river Scinde, whose banks are like those of all rivers in this part of India, bordered to a great distance by these deep and ugly inequalities. Here they are almost without grass or shrubs to clothe their hideous nakedness, and have been formed by the torrents which, in the season of the rains, rush from the

extensive plain as from a wide ocean, down to the deep channel of the river in narrow streams. These streams cut their way easily through the soft alluvial soil, which must once have formed the bed of a vast lake. On coming through the forest, before sunrise, we discovered our error of the day before, for we found excellent deer shooting in the long grass and brushwood which grow luxuriantly at some distance from the city. Had we come out a couple of miles the day before, we might have had noble sport, and really required the *forbearance* and *humanity*, to which we had so magnanimously resolved to sacrifice our "pride of art," as sportsmen; for we saw many herds of the neelgae, antelope, and spotted deer, browsing within a few paces of us, within the long grass and brushwood on both sides of the road. We could not stay, however, to indulge in much sport, having a long march before us.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

BHOOMEEAWUT.

THOUGH, no doubt, very familiar to our ancestors during the middle ages, this is a thing happily but little understood in Europe at the present day. Bhoomeeawut, in Bundelcund, signifies a war of fight for landed inheritance, from Bhoom, the land, earth, &c. ; Bhoomee, a landed proprietor.

When a member of the landed aristocracy, no matter however small, has a dispute with his ruler, he collects his followers, and levies indiscriminate war upon his territories, plundering and burning his towns and villages, and murdering their inhabitants, till he is invited back upon his own terms. During this war, it is a point of honour not to allow a single acre of land to be tilled upon the estate which he has deserted, or from which he has been driven; and he will murder any man who attempts to drive a plough in it, together with all his family, if he can. The smallest member of this landed aristocracy of the Hindoo military class, will often cause a terrible devastation during the interval that he is engaged in his Bhoomeeawut: for there are always vast numbers of loose characters floating upon the surface of Indian society, ready to "gird up their loins" and use their sharp swords in the service of marauders of this kind, when they cannot get employment in that of the constituted authorities of government.

Such a marauder has generally the sympathy of nearly all the members of his own class and clan, who are apt to think that his case may one day be their own. He is thus looked

upon as contending for the interests of all : and if his chief happens to be on bad terms with other chiefs in the neighbourhood, the latter will clandestinely support the outlaw and his cause, by giving him and his followers shelter in their hills and jungles, and concealing their families and stolen property in their castles. It is a maxim in India, and in the less settled parts of it a very true one, that "one Pindara or robber makes a hundred : " that is, where one robber, by a series of atrocious murders and robberies, frightens the people into non-resistance, a hundred loose characters from among the peasantry of the country will take advantage of the occasion, and adopt his name, in order to plunder with the smallest possible degree of personal risk to themselves.

Some magistrates and local rulers, under such circumstances have very unwisely adopted the measure of prohibiting the people from carrying or having arms in their houses, the very thing which, above all others, such robbers most wish ; for they know, though such magistrates and rulers do not, that it is the innocent only, and the friends to order, who will obey the command. The robber will always be able to conceal his arms, or keep with them out of the reach of the magistrate ; and he is now relieved altogether from the salutary dread of a shot from a door or window. He may rob at his leisure, or sit down like a gentleman, and have all that the people of the surrounding towns and villages possess brought to him, for no man can any longer attempt to defend himself or his family.

Weak governments are obliged soon to invite back the robber on his own terms, for the people can pay them no revenue, being prevented from cultivating their lands, and obliged to give all they have to the robbers, or submit to be plundered of it. Jansee and Jhalone are exceedingly weak governments, from having their territories studded with estates held rent-free or at a quit-rent, by Powar, Bondela, and Dhundele barons, who have

always the sympathy of the numerous chiefs and their barons of the same clans around.

In the year 1832, the Powar barons, of the estates of Nownere, Jignee, Odegow, and Bilchree, in Jansee, had some cause of dissatisfaction with their chief, and this they presented to Lord William Bentinck as he passed through the province in December. His lordship told them, that these were questions of internal administration which they must settle among themselves, as the supreme government would not interfere. They had therefore only one way of settling such disputes, and that was to raise the standard of Bhoomeeawut, and cry, "To your tents, O Israel." This they did; and though the Jansee chief had a military force of twelve thousand men, they burnt down every town and village in the territory that did not come into their terms, and the chief had possession of only two—Jansee, the capital, and the large commercial town of Mow, when the Bondela Rajahs of Orcha and Duteea, who had hitherto clandestinely supported the insurgents, consented to become the arbitrators. A suspension of arms followed, the barons got all they demanded, and the Bhoomeeawut ceased. But the Jansee chief, who had hitherto lent large sums to the other chiefs in the province, was reduced to the necessity of borrowing from them all, and from Gwalior, and mortgaging to them a good portion of his lands.

Gwalior is itself weak in the same way. A great portion of its lands are held by barons of the Hindoo military classes, equally addicted to Bhoomeeawut, and one or more of them is always engaged in this kind of indiscriminate warfare; and it must be confessed, that unless they are always considered to be ready to engage in it, they have very little chance of retaining their possessions on moderate terms, for these weak governments are generally the most rapacious when they have it in their power.

A good deal of the lands of the Mahomedan sovereign of Oude are, in the same manner, held by barons of the Rajpoot

tribe; and some of them are almost always in the field engaged in the same kind of warfare against their sovereign. The baron who pursues it with vigour is almost sure to be invited back upon his own terms very soon. If his lands are worth a hundred thousand a year, he will get them for ten; and have this remitted for the next five years, till ready for another Bhoomeawut, on the ground of the injuries sustained during the last, from which his estate has to recover. The baron who is peaceable and obedient soon gets rack-rented out of his estate, and reduced to beggary.

In 1818, some companies of my regiment were, for several months, employed in Oude, after a young Bhoomeawutee of this kind, Sew Ruttun Sing. He was the nephew and heir of the Rajah of Pertabgur, who wished to exclude him from his inheritance by the adoption of a brother of his young bride. Sew Ruttun had a small village for his maintenance, and said nothing to his old uncle till the governor of the province, Gholam Hoseyn, accepted an invitation to be present at the ceremony of adoption. He knew that if he acquiesced any longer he would lose his inheritance, and cried, "To your tents, O Israel." He got a small band of three hundred Rajpoots, with nothing but their swords, shields, and spears, to follow him, all of the same clan, and true men. They were bivouacked in a jungle not more than seven miles from our cantonments at Pertabgur, when Gholam Hoseyn marched to attack them with three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two nine-pounders. He thought he should surprise them, and contrived so that he should come upon them about daybreak. Sew Ruttun knew all his plans. He placed one hundred and fifty of his men in ambuscade at the entrance of the jungle, and kept the other hundred and fifty by him in the centre. When they had got well in, the party in ambush rushed upon the rear, while he attacked them in front. After a short resistance, Gholam Hoseyn's force took to flight, leaving

five hundred men dead on the field, and their two guns behind them. Gho'am Hoseyn was so ashamed of the drubbing he got, that he bribed all the news writers, within twenty miles of the place, to say nothing about it in their reports to court, and he never made any report of it himself. A detachment of my regiment passed over the dead bodies in the course of the day, on their return to cantonments from detached command, or we should have known nothing about it. It is true, we heard the firing, but that we heard every day; and I have seen from my bungalow half a dozen villages in flames, at the same time, from this species of contest between the Rajpoot landholders and the government authorities. Our cantonments were generally full of the women and children who had been burnt out of house and home.

In Oude such contests generally begin with the harvests. During the season of tillage all is quiet; but when the crops begin to ripen, the governor begins to rise in his demands for revenue; and the Rajpoot landholders and cultivators to sharpen their swords and brandish their spears. One hundred of them always consider themselves a match for one thousand of the king's troops in a fair field, because they have all one heart and soul, while the king's troops have many.

While the Powars were ravaging the Janssee state with their Bhoomeeawut, a merchant of Saugor had a large convoy of valuable cloths, to the amount, I think, of sixty thousand rupees, intercepted by them on its way from Mirzapore to Rajpootannah. I was then at Saugor, and wrote off to the insurgents to say that they had mistaken one of our subjects for one of the Janssee chiefs, and must release the convoy. They did so, and not a piece of the cloth was lost. This Bhoomeeawut is supposed to have cost the Janssee chief above twenty lacs of rupees, and his subjects double that sum.

Gopaul Sing, a Bondela, who had been in the service of the


chief of Punna, took to Bhoomecawut, in 1809, and kept a large British force employed in pursuit through Bundelcund and the Saugor territories for three years, till he was invited back by our government, in the year 1812, by the gift of a fine estate on the banks of the Dussan river, yielding twenty thousand rupees a year, which his son now enjoys, and which is to descend to his posterity, many of whom will, no doubt, animated by their fortunate ancestor's example, take to the same trade. He had been a man of no note till he took to this trade, but by his predatory exploits he soon became celebrated throughout India; and when I came to the country no other man's chivalry was so much talked of.

A Bondela, or other landholder of the Hindoo military class, does not think himself, nor is he indeed thought by others, in the slightest degree less respectable having waged this indiscriminate war upon the innocent and unoffending, provided he has any cause of dissatisfaction with his liege lord—that is, provided he cannot get his lands or his appointment in his service upon his own terms—because all others of the same class and clan feel more or less interested in his success. They feel that their tenure of land, or of office, is improved by the mischief he does; because every peasant he murders, and every field he throws out of tillage, affects their liege lord in his most tender point, his treasury; and indisposes him to interfere with their salaries, their privileges, or their rents. He who wages this war goes on marrying his sisters or his daughters to the other barons and landholders of the same clan, and receiving theirs in marriage during the whole of his *Bhoomecawut*, as if nothing at all extraordinary had happened, and thereby strengthening his hand at the game he is playing.

Omrow Sing, of Jaklone, in Chunderree, a district of Gwalior, bordering upon Saugor, has been at this game for more than fifteen years out of the last twenty, but his alliances among

the baronial families around have not been in the slightest degree affected by it. His sons and his grandsons have, perhaps, made better matches than they might, had the old man been at peace with all the world, during the time that he has been desolating one district by his atrocities, and demoralizing all those around it by his example, and by inviting the youth to join him occasionally in murderous enterprises. Neither age nor sex is respected in their attacks upon towns and villages; and no Mahomedan can take more pride and pleasure in defacing idols—the most monstrous idol—than a Bhoomeeawutee takes in maiming an innocent peasant, who presumes to drive his plough in lands that he chooses to put under the *ban*.

In the kingdom of Oude this Bhoomeeawut is a kind of nursery for our native army, for the sons of Rajpoot yeomen, who have been trained in it, are all exceedingly anxious to enlist in our native infantry regiments, having no dislike to their drill or their uniform. The same class of men in Bundelcund and the Gwalior state, have a great horror of the drill and uniform of our regular infantry; and nothing can induce them to enlist in our ranks. Both are equally brave, and equally faithful to their salt—that is, to the person who employs them; but the Oude Rajpoot is a much more tameable animal than the Bondela. In Oude, this class of people have all inherited from their fathers a respect for our rule, and a love for our service. In Bundelcund they have not yet become reconciled to our service; and they still look upon our rule as interfering a good deal too much with their sporting propensities.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SUICIDE—RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN INDIA.

The day before we left Duteea, our cook had a violent dispute with his mother, a thing of almost daily occurrence; for though a very fat and handsome old lady, she was a very violent one. He was a quiet man, but unable to bear any longer the abuse she was heaping upon him, he first took up a pitcher of water and flung it at her head. It missed her, and he then snatched up a stick, and, for the first time in his life, struck her. He was her only son. She quietly took up all her things; and walking off towards a temple, said she would leave him for ever; and he having passed the *rubicon* declared, that he was resolved, no longer to submit to the parental tyranny, which she had hitherto exercised over him. My water carrier, prevailed upon her with much difficulty to return, and take up her quarters with him and his wife and five children in a small tent we had given them. Maddened at the thought of a blow from her only son, the old lady about sunset swallowed a large quantity of opium; and before the circumstance was discovered, it was too late to apply a remedy. We were told of it about eight o'clock at night, and found her lying in her son's arms—tried every remedy at hand, but without success, and about midnight she died. She loved her sons, and he respected her; and yet not a day passed without their having some desperate quarrel, generally about the orphan daughter of her brother, who lived with them, and was to be married as soon as the cook could save, out of his pay, money enough to defray the expenses of the ceremonies.

The old woman was always reproaching him for not saving money fast enough. This little cousin had now stolen some of the cook's tobacco for his young assistant; and the old lady thought it right to admonish her. The cook likewise thought it right to add his admonitions to those of his mother; but the old lady would have her niece abused by nobody but herself, and she flew into a violent passion at his presuming to interfere. This led to the son's outrage, and the mother's suicide. The son is a mild, good-tempered young man, who bears an excellent character among his equals; and is a very good servant. Had he been less mild it had perhaps been better; for his mother would by degrees have given up that despotic sway over her child, which in infancy is necessary, in youth useful, but in manhood becomes intolerable. "God defend us from the *anger* of the mild in spirit," said an excellent judge of human nature, Mahomed, the founder of this cook's religion: and certainly the mildest tempers are those which become the most ungovernable when roused beyond a certain degree; and the proud spirit of the old woman could not brook the outrage which her son, when so roused, had been guilty of. From the time that she was discovered to have taken poison till she breathed her last, she lay in the arms of the poor man, who besought her to live, that her only son might atone for his crime, and not be a parricide!

There is no part of the world, I believe, where parents are so much revered by their sons as they are in India in all classes of society. This is sufficiently evinced in the desire that parents feel to have sons. The duty of daughters is from the day of their marriage transferred entirely to their husbands and their husbands' parents, on whom alone devolves the duty of protecting and supporting them through the wedded and the widowed state. The links that united them to their parents are broken. All the reciprocity of rights and duties which have bound together the parent and child from infancy, is considered

to end with the consummation of her marriage ; nor does the stain of any subsequent female *backsliding* ever affect the family of her parents—it can affect that only of her husband, which is held alone responsible for her conduct. If a widow inherits the property of her husband, on her death the property would go to the widow of her husband's brother, supposing neither had any children by their husbands, in preference to her own brother : but between the son and his parents this reciprocity of rights and duties follows them to the grave. One is delighted to see in sons this habitual reverence for the mother ; but, as in the present case, it is too apt to occasion a domineering spirit, which produces much mischief even in private families, but still more in sovereign ones. A prince, when he attains the age of manhood, and ought to take upon himself the duties of the governments, is often obliged to witness a great deal of oppression and misrule from his inability to persuade his widowed mother to resign the power willingly into his hands. He often tamely submits to see his country ruined, and his family dishonoured, as at Jansee, before he can bring himself, by some act of desperate resolution, to wrest it from her grasp. In order to prevent his doing so, or to recover the reins he has thus obtained, the mother has often been known to poison her own son ; and many a princess in India, like Isabella of England, has, I believe, destroyed her husband, to enjoy more freely the society of her paramour, and hold these reins during the minority of her son.

In the exercise of dominion from behind the curtain (for it is those who live behind the curtain that seem most anxious to hold it) women select ministers who, to secure duration to their influence, become their paramours ; or at least make the world believe that they are so, to serve their own selfish purposes. The sons are tyrannised over through youth by their mothers, who endeavour to subdue their spirit to the yoke, which they

wish to bind heavy upon their necks for life; and they remain through manhood timid, ignorant, and altogether unfitted for the conduct of public affairs, and for the government of men under a despotic rule, whose essential principle is a *salutary fear* of the prince in the minds of all his public officers. Every unlettered native of India is as sensible of this principle as Montesquieu was; and will tell us, that in countries like India, a chief, to govern well, must have a *smack of the devil* (shytan) in him; for if he has not, his public servants will prey upon his innocent and industrious subjects. In India there are no universities or public schools in which young men might escape, as they do in Europe, from the enervating and stultifying influence of the *Zunana*. The state of mental imbecility to which a youth of naturally average powers of mind, born to territorial dominion, is in India often reduced by a haughty and ambitious mother, would be absolutely incredible to a man bred up in such schools. They are often utterly unable to act, think, or speak for themselves. If they happen, as they sometimes do, to get well informed in reading and conversation, they remain Hamlet-like, nervous and diffident; and however speculatively or *reflectively* wise, quite unfit for action, or for performing their part in the great drama of life.

In my evening ramble on the bank of the river, which was flowing against the wind, and rising into waves, my mind wandered back to the hours of infancy and boyhood, when I sat with my brothers watching our little vessels as they scudded over the ponds and streams of my native land; and then of my poor brothers John and Louis, whose bones now lie beneath the ocean. As we advance in age the dearest scenes of early days must necessarily become more and more associated in our recollection with painful feelings; for they who enjoyed such scenes with us must by degrees pass away, and be remembered with sorrow even by those who are conscious of having fulfilled all their duties in

life towards them—but with how much more by those, who can never remember them without thinking of occasions of kindness and assistance neglected or disregarded ! Many of them have perhaps left behind them widows and children struggling with adversity, and soliciting from us aid which we strive in vain to give.

During my visit to the Rajah, a person in the disguise of one of my sipahees went to a shop and purchased for me five and twenty rupees worth of fine Europe chintz, for which he paid in good rupees, which were forthwith assayed by a neighbouring goldsmith. The sipahee put these rupees into his own purse and laid it down, saying, that he should go and ascertain from me whether I wished to keep the whole of the chintz or not ; and if not he should require back the same money—that I was to halt tomorrow, when he would return to the shop again. Just as he was going away, however, he recollected that he wanted a turban for himself ; and requested the shopkeeper to bring him one. They were sitting in the verandah, and the shopkeeper had to go into his shop to bring out the turban. When he came out with it, the sipahee said it would not suit his purpose ; and went off, leaving the purse where it lay ; and cautioning the shopkeeper against changing any of the rupees, as he should require his own identical money back if his master rejected any of the chintz. The shopkeeper waited till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day without looking into the purse. Hearing then that I had left Duteea, and seeing no signs of the sipahee, he opened the purse and found that the rupees were all copper, with a thin coating of silver. The man had changed them while he went into the shop for a turban ; and substituted a purse exactly the same in appearance. After ascertaining that the story was true, and that the ingenious thief was not one of my followers, I insisted upon the man's taking his money from me, in spite of a great deal of remonstrance on the part of the Rajah's agent, who had come on with us.

CHAPTER XXXV.



GWALIOR PLAIN ONCE THE BED OF A LAKE—TAMENESS OF PEACOCKS.

ON the 19th, 20th, and 21st, we came on forty miles to the village of Antree in the Gwalior territory, over a fine plain of rich alluvial soil under spring crops. This plain bears manifest signs of having been at no very remote period, like the kingdom of Bohemia, the bed of a vast lake, bounded by the ranges of sandstone hills which now seem to skirt the horizon all round; and studded with innumerable islands of all shapes and sizes, which now rise abruptly in all directions out of the cultivated plain. The plain is still like the unruffled surface of a vast lake; and the rich green of the spring crops, which cover the surface in one wide sheet unintersected by hedges, tends to keep up the illusion, which the rivers have little tendency to dispel; for though they have cut their way down immense depths to their present beds through this soft alluvial deposit, the traveller no sooner emerges from the hideous ravines which disfigure their banks, than he loses all trace of them. Their course is unmarked by trees, large shrubs, or any of the signs which mark the course of rivers in other quarters. The soil over the vast plain is everywhere of good quality, and everywhere cultivated, or rather worked, for we can hardly consider a soil cultivated which is never either irrigated or manured, or voluntarily relieved by allows or an alternation of crops, till it has descended to the last stage of exhaustion. The prince rack-rents the farmer, the farmer rack-rents the cultivator, and the cultivator rack-rents the soil. Soon after crossing the Scinde river we enter upon the territories of the Gwalior chief, Sindheea.

The villages are everywhere few, and their communities very small. The greater part of the produce goes for sale to the capital of Gwallor, where the money it brings is paid into the treasury in rent, or revenue to the chief, who distributes it in salaries among his establishments, who again pay it for land produce to the cultivators, farmers, and agricultural capitalists, who again pay it back into the treasury in land revenue. No more people reside in the villages than are absolutely necessary to the cultivation of the land, because the chief takes all the produce beyond what is necessary for their bare subsistence; and out of what he takes, maintains establishments that reside elsewhere. There is nowhere any jungle to be seen, and very few of the villages that are scattered over the plains have any fruit or ornamental trees left; and when the spring crops, to which the tillage is chiefly confined, are taken off the ground, the face of the country must have a very naked and dreary appearance. Near one village on the road I saw some men threshing corn in a field, and among them a peacock (which of course I took to be domesticated) breakfasting very comfortably upon the grain as it flew around him. A little farther on, I saw another quietly working his way into a stack of corn, as if he understood it to have been made for his use alone. It was so close to me as I passed, that I put out my stick to push it off in play; and to my surprise it flew off in a fright at my white face and strange dress, and was followed by the others. I found that they were all wild, if that term can be applied to birds that live on such excellent terms with mankind. On reaching our tents we found several feeding in the corn-fields close around them, undisturbed by our host of camp-followers; and were told by the villagers, who had assembled to greet us, that they were all wild. "Why," said they, "should we think of keeping birds that live among us on such easy terms without being kept?" I asked whether they ever shot them; and was told that they never killed or molested them; but that any one

who wished to shoot them might do so, since they had here no religious regard for them. Like the pareear dogs, the peacocks seem to disarm the people by confiding in them—their tameness is at once the cause and the effect of their security. The members of the little communities, among whom they live on such friendly terms, would not have the heart to shoot them; and travellers either take them to be domesticated, or are at once disarmed by their tameness.

At Autree, a sufficient quantity of salt is manufactured for the consumption of the people of the town. The earth that contains most salt is dug up at some distance from the town, and brought to small reservoirs made close outside the walls. Water is here poured over it as over tea and coffee. Passing through the earth, it flows out below into a small conduit, which takes it to small pits some yards distance, whence it is removed in buckets to small enclosed platforms, where it is exposed to the sun's rays till the water evaporates, and leaves the salt dry. The want of trees over this vast plain of fine soil from the Scinde river, is quite lamentable. The people of Antree pointed out the place close to my tents where a beautiful grove of mango trees had been lately taken off to Gwalior for *gun carriages* and fire wood, in spite of all the proprietor could urge of the detriment to his own interest in this world, and to those of his ancestors in that to which they had gone! Wherever the army of this chief moved they invariably swept off the groves of fruit trees in the same reckless manner. Parts of the country which they merely passed through have recovered their trees, because the desire to propitiate the Deity and to perpetuate their name by such a work, will always operate among Hindoos as a sufficient incentive to secure groves wherever men can be made to feel that their rights of property in the trees will be respected. The lands around the village, which had a well for irrigation, paid four times as much as those of the same quality which had none, and

were made to yield two crops in the year. As everywhere else, so here, those lands into which water flows from the town, and can be made to stand for a time, are esteemed the best, as this water brings down with it manures of all kinds. I had a good deal of talk with the cultivators as I walked through their fields in the evenings; and they seemed to dwell much upon the good faith which is observed by the farmers and cultivators in the honourable Company's territories; and the total absence of it in those of Sindheea's, where no work, requiring an outlay of capital upon the land, is, in consequence, ever thought of, both farmers and cultivators engaging from year to year, and no farmer ever feeling secure of his lease for more than one.



CHAPTER XXXVI

GWALIOR AND ITS GOVERNMENT.

ON the 22nd, we came on fourteen miles to Gwalior, over some ranges of sandstone hills, which are seemingly continuations of the Vindhya range. Hills of indurated brown and red iron clay repose upon and intervene between these ranges, with strata generally horizontal, but occasionally bearing signs of having been shaken by internal convulsions. These convulsions are also indicated by some dykes of compact basalt which cross the road.

Nothing can be more unprepossessing than the approach to Gwalior; the hills being naked, black, and ugly, with rounded tops devoid of grass or shrubs, and the soil of the valleys, a poor red dust without any appearance of verdure or vegetation, since the few autumn crops that lately stood upon them have been removed. From Antree to Gwalior there is no sign of any human habitation, save that of a miserable police guard of four or five, who occupy a wretched hut on the side of the road midway, and seem, by their presence, to render the scene around more dreary.* The road is a mere footpath unimproved and unadorned by any single work of art; and except in this footpath, and the small police guard, there is absolutely no single sign in all this long march to indicate the dominion or even the presence of man; and yet it is between two contiguous capitals,

* Johnson, in his journey to the western islands, observes, "Now and then we espied a little corn-field, which served to impress more strongly the general barrenness."

one occupied by one of the most ancient, and the other by one of the greatest native sovereigns of Hindoostan. One cannot but feel, that he approaches the capital of a dynasty of barbarian princes, who, like Attila, would choose their places of residence as devils choose their pandemonia, for their ugliness; and rather reside in the dreary wastes of Tartary than on the shores of the Bosphorus! There are within the dominions of Sindheea seats for a capital that would not yield to any in India in convenience, beauty, and salubrity; but in all these dominions there is not, perhaps, another place so hideously ugly as Gwalior, or so hot and unhealthy. It has not one redeeming quality that should recommend it to the choice of a rational prince, particularly to one who still considers his capital as his camp, and makes every officer of his army feel, that he has as little of permanent interest in his house as he would have in his tent.

Phool Bag, or the *flower-garden*, was suggested to me as the best place for my tents, where Sindheea had built a splendid, summer-house. As I came over this most gloomy and uninteresting march, in which the heart of a rational man sickens as he recollects that all the revenues of such an enormous extent of dominion over the richest soil, and the most peaceable people in the world, should have been so long concentrated upon this point, and squandered without leaving one sign of human art or industry, I looked forward with pleasure to a quiet residence in the *flower-garden*, with good foliage above, and a fine sward below, and an atmosphere free from dust, such as we find in and around all the residences of Mahomedan princes. On reaching my tents I found them pitched close outside the *flower-garden*, in a small dusty plain, without a blade of grass or a shrub to hide its deformity—just such a place as the pig-keepers occupy in the suburbs of other towns. On one side of this little plain, and looking into it, was the summer-house of the prince, without one inch of green sward, or one small shrub before it; Around the

wretched little *flower-garden* was a low, naked, and shattered mud wall, such as we generally see in suburbs, thrown up to keep out and in the pigs, that usually swarm in such places—and the swine they crawled out, and the swine they crawled in!" When I cantered up to my tent-door, a sipahee of my guard came up, and reported, that as day began to dawn a gang of thieves had stolen one of my best carpets, all the brass brackets of my tent-poles, and the brass bell with which the sentries on duty sounded the hour; all Lieutenant Thomas's cooking utensils, and many other things, several of which they had found lying between the tents and the prince's *pleasure house*, particularly the contents of a large heavy box of *geological specimens*! They had, in consequence, concluded the gang to be lodged in the prince's pleasure-house. The guard on duty at this place would make no answer to their inquiries, and I really believe that they were themselves the thieves. The tents of the Rajah of Raghoghur, who had come to pay his respects to the Sindeea, his liege lord, were pitched near mine. He had the day before had five horses stolen from him, with all the plate, jewels, and valuable clothes he possessed; and I was told that I must move forthwith from the *flower-garden* or cut off the tail of every horse in my camp. Without tails they might not be stolen—with them they certainly would! Having had sufficient proof of their dexterity, we moved ~~our~~ tents to a grove near the residency, four miles from the flower-garden and the court.

As a citizen of the world, I could not help thinking that it would be an immense blessing upon a large portion of our species if an earthquake were to swallow up this court of Gwalior, and the army that surrounds it. Nothing worse could possibly succeed; and something better might. It is lamentable to think how much of evil this court and camp inflict upon the people who are subject to them. In January, 1828, I was passing with a party of gentlemen through the town of Bhilsa, which belongs to

this chief, and lies between Saugor and Bhopaul, when we found, lying and bleeding in one of the streets, twelve men belonging to a merchant at Mirzapore, who had the day before been wounded and plundered by a gang of robbers close outside the walls of the town. Those who were able ran in to the Amib, or chief of the district, who resides in the town; and begged him to send some horsemen after the banditti, and intercept them as they passed over the great plains. "Send your own people," said he, "or hire men to send! Am I here to look after the private affair of merchants and travellers, or to collect the revenues of the prince?" Neither he nor the prince himself, nor any other officer of the public establishments, ever dreamed that it was their duty to protect the life, property, or character of travellers, or indeed of any other human beings, save the members of their own families. In this pithy question, the Amib of Bhilsa described the nature and character of the government. All the revenues of his immense dominions are spent entirely in the maintenance of the court and camp of the prince; and every officer employed beyond the boundary of this court and camp, considers his duties to be limited to the collection of the revenue. Protected from all external enemies by our military forces, which surround him on every side, his whole army is left to him for purposes of parade and display; and having, according to his notions, no use for them elsewhere, he concentrates them around his capital, where he lives among them in the perpetual dread of mutiny and assassination! He has nowhere any police, nor any establishment whatever, for the protection of the life and property of his subjects; nor has he, any more than his predecessors, ever, I believe, for one moment thought, that those from whose industry and frugality he draws his revenues have any right whatever to expect from him the use of such establishments in return. They have never formed any legitimate part of the Mahratta government, and, I fear, never will.

The misrule of such states, situated in the midst of our dominions, is not without its use. There is, as Gibbon justly observes, "a strong propensity in human nature to deprecate the advantages, and to magnify the evils of the present times;" and if the people had not before their eyes such specimens of native rule, to contrast with ours, they would think more highly than they do of that of their past Mahomedan and Hindoo sovereigns and be much less disposed than they are to estimate fairly the advantages of being under ours. The native governments of the present day are fair specimens of what they have always been—grinding military despotisms—their whole history is that of "Saul has killed his thousands, and David his tens of thousands;" as if rulers were made merely to slay, and the ruled to be slain! In politics, as in landscape, " 'Tis distance lends enchantments to the view," and the past might be all *couleur de rose* in the imaginations of the people, were it not represented in these ill-governed states, where the "lucky accident" of a good governor is not to be expected in a century; and where the secret of the responsibility of ministers to the people is yet undiscovered.

The fortress of Gwalior stands upon a table land, a mile and a half long by a quarter of a mile wide, at the north-east end of a small insulated sandstone hill, running north-east and south-west, and rising at both ends about three hundred and forty feet above the level of the plain below. At the base is a kind of glacis, which runs up at an angle of forty-five from the plain to within fifty, and in some places within twenty feet, of the foot of the wall. The interval is the perpendicular face of the horizontal strata of the sandstone rock. The glacis is formed of a bed of basalt in all stages of decomposition, with which this, like the other sandstone hills of Central India, was once covered, and of the debris and chippings of the rocks above. The walls are raised a certain uniform height all round upon the verge of the precipice and being thus made to correspond with the edge of the rock, the

line is extremely irregular. They are rudely built of the fine sandstone of the rock on which they stand, and have some square and some semicircular bastions of different sizes—few of these raised above the level of the wall itself. On the eastern face of the rock, between the glacis and foot of the wall, are cut out in bold relief, the colossal figures of men sitting bareheaded under canopies, on each side of a throne or temple; and in another place, the colossal figure of a man standing naked, and facing outward, which I took to be that of Boodh. The town of Gwalior extends along the foot of the glacis on one side, and consists of a single street above a mile long; there is a very beautiful mosque, with one end built by a Mahomed Khan, A. D. 1665, of the white sandstone of the rock above it. It looks as fresh as if it had not been finished a month; and, struck, as I passed it, with so noble a work? apparently new, and under such a government, I alighted from my horse, went in, and read the inscription, which told me the date of the building and the name of the founder. There is no stuccowork over any part of it, nor is any required on such beautiful materials; and the stones are all so nicely cut, that cement seems to have been considered useless. It has the usual two minarets or towers, and over the arches and alcoves are carved, as customary, passages from the Koran, in the beautiful Kufik characters. The court and camp of the chief extends out from the southern end of the hill for several miles.

The whole of the hill on which the fort of Gwalior stands, had evidently, at no very distant period, been covered by a mass of basalt, surmounted by a crust of indurated brown and red iron clay, with lithomarge, which often assumes the appearance of common laterite. The boulders of basalt, which still cap some part of the hill, and form the greater part of the glacis at the bottom, are for the most part in a state of rapid decomposition; but some of them are still so hard and fresh, that the hammer rings upon them as upon a bell, and their

fracture is brilliantly crystalline. The basalt is the same as that which caps the sandstone hills of the Vindhya range throughout Malwa. The sandstone hills around Gwalior all rise in the same abrupt manner from the plain, as those through Malwa generally; and they have almost all of them the same basaltic glacis at their base, with boulders of that rock scattered over the top, all indicating that they were at one time buried in the same manner, under one great mass of volcanic matter, thrown out from their submarine craters in streams of lava, or diffused through the ocean or lakes in ashes, and deposited in strata. The geological character of the country about Gwalior is very similar to that of the country about Saugor; and I may say the same of the Vindhya range generally, as far as I have seen it, from Mirzapore on the Ganges, to Bhopaul in Malwa—hills of sandstone rising suddenly alluvial plain, and capped, or bearing signs of having been capped, by basalt, reposing immediately upon it, and partly covered in its turn by beds of indurated iron clay.

The fortress of Gwalior was celebrated for its strength under the Hindoo sovereigns of India; but was taken by the Mahomedans after a long siege, A.D. 1197. The Hindoos regained possession, but were again expelled by the Emperor Altumash, A.D. 1235. The Hindoos again got possession, and after holding it one hundred years, again surrendered it to the forces of the Emperor Ibrahim, A.D. 1519. In 1543, it was surrendered up by the troops of the Emperor Hoomayoon, to Share khan, his successful competitor for the empire. It afterwards fell into the hands of a Jat chief, the Rana of Gohud, from whom it was taken by the Mahrattas. While in their possession, it was invested by our troops under the command of Major Popham; and on the 3rd of August, 1780, taken by escalade. The party that scaled the wall was gallantly led by a very distinguished and most promising officer, Captain Bruce, brother of the celebrated traveller. It was made over by us to the Rana of Gohud, who had been our ally in the

war. Failing in his engagement to us, he was afterwards abandoned to the resentment of Madhajee Sindheea, chief of the Mahrattas. In 1783, Gwalior was invested by Madhajee Sindheea's troops, under the command of one of the most extraordinary men that have ever figured in Indian history—the justly celebrated General Duboine. After many unsuccessful attempts to take it by escalade, he bought over part of the garrison, and made himself master of the place. Gohud, itself was taken soon after, in 1784; but the Rana Chuturput, made his escape. He was closely pursued, made prisoner at Kuroube, and confined in the fortress of Gwalior, where he died in the year 1785. He left no son; and his claims upon Gohud devolved upon his nephew, Keerut Sing, who, at the close of our war with the Mahrattas, got from Lord Lake, in lieu of these claims, the estate of Dholepore, situated on the left banks of the river Chumbul, which is estimated at the annual value of three hundred thousand, or three lacks of rupees. He died this year, 1835, and has been succeeded by his son, Bhugwunt Sing, a lad of seventeen years of age.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONTEST FOR EMPIRE BETWEEN THE SONS OF SHAH JEHAN.*

UNDER the Emperors of Delhi, the fortress of Gwalior was always considered as an imperial state prison, in which they confined those rivals and competitors for dominion whom they did not like to put to a violent death. They kept a large menagerie, and other things, for their amusement. Among the best of the princes, who ended their days in this great prison, was Sooleeman Shakoh, the eldest son of the unhappy Dara. A narrative of the contest for empire between the four sons of Shah Jehan, may, perhaps, prove both interesting and instructive; and as I shall have occasion often, in the course of my rambles, to refer to the characters who figured in it, I shall venture to give it a place.

Shah Jehan, who built at Agra the celebrated mausoleum, now called after the wife over whose remains it was erected, the "Taj Beebee ka Rouza," or the Tomb of the Crowned Princess, had four sons and three daughters. The eldest son was Dara Shakoh. He is considered to have been one of the handsomest men in the empire. His figure was majestic, his countenance noble, his manners dignified, his disposition kind and benevolent, and his spirit full of generous impulses, but not sufficiently under

* The following twelve chapters contain an historical piece, to the personages and events of which the author will have frequent occasion to refer; and it is introduced in this place from its connexion with Gwalior—the state prison in which some of its actors ended their days.

control; and his deportment towards the Mahomedan nobility was often too haughty and imperious. Many of those, whose good opinions and feelings it was most his interest to conciliate, were alienated from him by harsh expressions, which, though always unpremeditated, and often deeply regretted, left a strong feeling of resentment upon their minds; and also of apprehension, that the man who so used them while merely looking forward to the throne, would be likely to add injuries to insults when firmly seated upon it. He had studied carefully the religious systems of both the eastern and western world, and was supposed to have become at last a convert to Christianity. Certain it is, that he cultivated the society of the European gentlemen about his court more than of others, and by that means he gave great unbrage to the Mahomedans. The Jesuits who resided at his court were persuaded of his conversion, and felt assured that, if he came to the throne, their religion would soon spread throughout the east. But Dara resembled his greatgrandfather, the Emperor Akbar, in that spirit of universal benevolence which made him tolerant of all religions. He really believed what Akbar always seemed to believe, that every nation had *its book* given to them from above for their special guidance; and that if these books were studied in a proper spirit, they would all be found tending to the same great end—the promotion of justice, charity, and benevolence among men, and the worship of one God, the creator and preserver of the universe. He found the European gentlemen at his father's court better informed than any others with whom he could at that time associate on intimate terms; and he gave them more of his time and attentions. The Jesuits were the persons whom he seemed most to esteem among the Europeans; and among the Jesuits, those most in his confidence were the fathers Stanislaus Malpica, a Neapolitan, Pedro Juzarti, a Portuguese, and Henry Busie, a Fleming. All the artillery, not only in the imperial, but in every other army throughout India, was at that time

served and conducted almost entirely by Europeans or Christians. They had churches and church establishments in all parts of the empire; and had Dara succeeded to the throne, our religion would, no doubt, have had everywhere great encouragement.

Jehanara Begum, the eldest of three daughters, was older than Dara. She was a person of great beauty, wit, and accomplishments; and so much after her brother Dara's own heart in all things, that she supported his interest with all her unbounded influence over her father, as long as he reigned. Sultan Shoojah was neither so handsome, so liberal, so high-minded, nor so well-informed as Dara; but he was equal in courage, enterprise, and natural abilities, and never subject to those fits of passion by which his brother had alienated from him many of those who could best have served him in time of need. He had, too, less scruple than Dara in employing the means necessary to win men over to his interest in such a struggle as was about to take place between them for dominion. He had changed his sect from that of Soonnee, or the Turks, to that of Sheea, or the Persians, with a view to conciliate the Persian noblemen, who then filled almost every great office in the empire, civil and military; and he was in correspondence with the king of Persia. The adventurers from Persia in those days had almost as great a monopoly of offices as the Europeans in the present, because they were really the only Mahomedans of education in India, and of that address which fitted them for courts and court favour.

Ourungzebe, well known to my countrymen as the father of "Lalla Rookh," was the third son. He was of middle stature and slender figure, long features, particularly the nose; but with an expression of countenance peculiarly mild and pleasing, though always sedate. His complexion was pale, his eyes were a good deal sunk; and as his conversation generally turned on the subject of the religion and laws of his prophet, it was commonly believed that his thoughts dwelt more on his interests in the next

world than in this. A more perfect master of the art of dissimulation than Ourungzebe perhaps never existed. He generally appeared thoughtful; and nothing was ever seen to disturb the calm serenity of his temper. He always carried the Koran under his arm, and was observed regularly at the prescribed five times in the day at his prayers, which he repeated with a loud and singularly melodious voice. He was a rigid religionist, according to the sect of the Soonnees, and never appeared in public except in a clean white dress, unadorned by any of those jewels and expensive ornaments, worn by the other members of the imperial family. He had inscribed his name among the Fuquers, or religious mendicants, lived altogether like one, upon rice, roots, and water; and never indulged in wine, or any other luxury whatever of the table. From his tenderest years he seems to have been strongly impressed with the conviction, that on the death of his father, his life must depend upon his ability to conquer and destroy all his brothers, or to persuade them that he sought nothing but a peaceful, religious retirement near the tomb of his prophet. His youngest brother became his dupe, but his eldest brother, Dara, knew him well, and used always to say, "Of all my brothers, I fear only that man of prayers," (Nimazee,) and Shoojah was just as well aware of the true nature of his character.

Roshunara Begum was the second daughter, and fifth child of Shah Jehan. She had less of natural ability, of beauty, wit, and accomplishments than her eldest sister, Jehanara; but she had infinitely more of artifice and cunning. In mind and disposition she resembled Ourungzebe as much as Jehanara resembled Dara; and in the same manner she devoted herself entirely to the interests of the brother she so much resembled. She became his spy; and kept him always fully informed of everything that occurred at court which could be useful for him to know.

Moorad Buksh was the fourth and youngest son, a brave

headstrong man, who devoted all his time to the sports of the field, to military exercises, and the pleasures of the table. He prided himself upon his strength, courage, and frankness; and seemed to think these were the only qualities worthy of being cultivated by a prince who aspired to an empire. He had a good deal of generosity, and was very honest in his profession of the Mahomedan faith, though much addicted to wine.

Meheron Nissa Begum was the youngest child; she had little to attract or interest in her mind or person. Her dress, her ornaments, and the trifling amusements of the seraglio, engaged all her attention; and she never was known to take the least interest in any of the different factions that distracted the rest of the court and empire.

Data was made Viceroy of Cabul and Lahore, with permission to reside at the capital of Delhi, and assist his father in the conduct of affairs, as the declared heir apparent to the throne. Shoojah was made Viceroy of Bengal, Belrar, and Orissa. Ourungzebe, of all the Deccan or imperial dominions south of the Nerbudda river; and Moorad Buksh, of the provinces of Gozerat and Malwa. The Emperor Shah Jehan was, at the time of these appointments, (1651,) at Cabul with his court; Moorad set out for his government of Gozerat alone. Shoojah and Ourungzebe took leave of their father on the same day, and proceeded together to Delhi, where they remained together six days. Ourungzebe passed three days with his family in his brother Shoojah's tents; and on that occasion Shoojah's eldest son was betrothed to Ourungzebe's eldest daughter, and his eldest daughter to Ourungzebe's eldest son. Up to this time they had been fond of each other; and they now swore upon the holy Koran to remain the same through life.

In the year A.D. 1658, Shah Jehan became suddenly and dangerously ill—for some time he was supposed to be dead; and the four sons all prepared for that contest which was to give them a

throne or a grave. Ourungzebe easily managed to persuade Moorad, whose viceroyalty adjoined his own, and who had married a younger sister of his wife,* that he had no wish but to put him on the throne with the view to revenge the death of their poor old father, who had evidently been poisoned by Dara, and to preserve the law and true religion of their great prophet, now endangered as well from Dara, who had become an unbeliever, as from shoojah, who had become a heretic. "As soon as they had, by their united efforts," he said, "effected these two great objects, he should, with his permission, retire and spend the rest of his days near the tomb of their prophet, and in the meantime consider him, Moorad, as the real Emperor of Hindoostan, and obey him accordingly." He sent him a few hundred thousand rupees for immediate use, and recommended him to replenish his treasury by taking the great commercial city of Surat. This headstrong young man fell into the snare—marched to the attack of Surat, and took the city after a siege of a month, by means of a mine under the wall, which his troops were taught to make and spring by the Hollanders, who worked his artillery. He found less treasure than he expected;† but the reputation of having taken a place of such note, by means of blowing the walls into the air, and the supposition that the treasure found had been enormous, were of great advantage to his enterprise. His wise brother, Ourungzebe, had calculated upon the moral effect of this, and cared little about the money.

From Surat he marched his army to Mandoo, the ancient capital of Malwa, near the river Nerbudda, where his brother, Ourungzebe, was to cross it on his way up from Doulatabad. Here the brothers met, and the two armies joined. Ourungzebe

* The Sultan Shoojah, the fourth competitor for the throne, had married a third sister. All three were the daughters of Shahnewag Khan, of Gozerat.

† Over and above the public treasure, which fell into his hands in the fortress, he got from the merchants of the city, whom he put into rigorous confinement, a ransom of five hundred thousand rupees.

had lately taken leave of the most extraordinary person of that age in India, Mahomed Mouzzim Ameer Jumla, whose advice had been to him, and still continued to be, of more importance than the services of a third army, though he had left him a prisoner in the Deccan. Ameer Jumla was a native of Persia: his person was handsome, his manners graceful, and his mind, naturally of uncommon powers, had been well stored by early studies with all the knowledge that a Persian education could impart. In the language of Bernier, "he was a man of almost *unimaginable capacity*." He came to southern India in the quality of an attendant upon a Persian merchant, and entered the service of the king of Golconda. Here he soon became Viceroy over the richest province of the kingdom, commander-in-chief of the armies, and sole *paramour* to the mother of the king, who had been, and was still, a beautiful woman. Possessed of the mines of Golconda which lay within his viceroyalty, he soon became possessed of immense wealth: and, discovering a design on the part of the king to seize this wealth, and to banish him for the intrigue with the queen mother, he instigated Ourungzebe to the conquest of Golconda, as the surest road to the throne of his father. Dara became alarmed, and Golconda was saved at the interposition of the Emperor, when the king had been reduced to the last extremity in the citadel, and his kingdom was on the point of falling into the hands of Ourungzebe. The eldest daughter of the king was united to the eldest son of Ourungzebe, Sultan Mahomed, in spite of his plighted faith to the daughter of Shoojah, with a pledge that he should succeed to the crown of Golconda on the death of the king his father-in-law. The king was obliged to consent to allow Ameer Jumla to depart with Ourungzebe, and to take with him all his family, private property and troops, and above all, his artillery, which had been brought to greater perfection, under the superintendence of Europeans, than any other artillery in India ever had been.

As a commencement, Ourungzebe, through the intrigues of his sister Roshunara. (or Rozanara,) prevailed upon the Emperor to invite Ameer Jumla to his court at Delhi, whither he repaired with his family, the better to deceive Dara and Jehanara. He took with him many valuable presents, which he presented to Shah Jehan; and among them was the great diamond, known since by the name of Kohinoor, or the mountain of light, which he had got from one of the Golconda mines. He was soon after appointed to the office of prime minister, vacant by the death of Sodalla Khan; and he persuaded Shah Jehan that there were many such diamonds as this to be found in the principalities of the Deccan, and that he had only to entrust him with the command of an army for their conquest, to become master of sources of unbounded wealth. The Emperor was become exceedingly avaricious, and he immediately ordered an efficient army to be placed at his disposal; but Dara and Jehanara saw that such an army, under such a leader, added to the forces already under the command, and devoted to the interests of Ourungzebe, would be sufficient to give him the empire whenever he might wish to seize upon it; and they urged their father not to be caught in the snare that had been so manifestly laid for him. He was at that time angry, however, with Dara for having, as he believed, caused to be poisoned his minister, Sadoolla Khan, one of the best and ablest men in the empire, to whom he had been fondly attached; and his cupidity had been inflamed by the pictures which the Ameer drew of the treasures of the yet unconquered kingdoms of the south of India. Unable to prevent the Emperor from sending this army, or entrusting the Ameer with the command of it, they persuaded him to make his command entirely independent of Ourungzebe, to confine this prince merely to the civil government of the states already conquered, and to insist upon the Ameer leaving his wife and children at court as hostages for his fidelity. The Ameer hesitated to accept the command

upon this last condition; but at length the Emperor prevailed upon him to yield the point, to calm the anxieties of his eldest son and daughter, under a promise that he would undertake very soon to send his wife and children after him. His eldest son, Mahmood Ameer, was appointed to his office of prime minister during his father's absence. The king of Beejapore having had the misfortune to displease Ourungzebe, or excite his cupidity, he obtained the Emperor's permission to invade the kingdom. He had taken Kaleeanee, and reduced Beejapore itself to extremities, when he heard of his father's illness. He now accepted the one million of money that had been offered, raised the siege, and retired to Ourungabad.* Ameer Jumla was engaged in the siege of Kulburga, and Ourungzebe sent his eldest son, Mahmood, to entreat the Ameer to join him. Dreading that his wife and children would be all put to death by Dara, if he did so, he declined. The second son, Mouzim, was sent, and he came.† It was planned that he should be there seized, put in silver fetters,‡ and kept a close prisoner in the fort of Doulatabad. This was done to make it appear that he had been forced, and

* Adil Shah, the then king of Beejapore had before sent a present to the imperial court at Delhi, consisting of forty lacs of rupees and forty elephants, with gold and silver housings, for Shah Jehan; fifteen lacs of rupees, fifteen elephants, and jewels, for Dara Shakh; and five lacs of rupees and five elephants for his sister Jehanara.

† Mouzim, the second son of Ourungzebe, was then only seventeen years of age. He had all the address of his father, without any of his bad qualities; while Mahmood had all the impetuosity of Dara, without any of his good qualities. In the struggle for the throne, made by the four sons of Ourungzebe on his death, Mouzim carried off the victory. Mahmood had long before died.

‡ When Richard Cœur de Lion of England took the king of Cyprus prisoner, he put him in silver fetters, which flattered the old man's vanity very much. He had behaved extremely ill to the shipwrecked family of Richard, on their way to the holy wars—his wife and sister, the widowed queen of Sicily.

thereby save his wife and children from the resentment of Dara. "We must," said Ourungzebe, "kill the snake, without breaking the stick that we do it with." All his army, knowing or suspecting the motive, were easily persuaded to join that of Ourungzebe, whose ambition and capacity were well known to them. They calculated not only upon placing him upon the throne; but upon following him after they had done so, to the conquest of Persia, China, and a variety of other places that enter into the dreams of a successful army so circumstanced and commanded.

Ourungzebe, who now always addressed Moorad with the title of *your imperial majesty*, got off his elephant and walked some distance to meet him, at their first interview, in front of the whole army, and played the saint so admirably, that in spite of the constant warning of his affectionate and faithful follower, Shahabas, Moorad resigned himself into his hands, with entire confidence in the sincerity of his professions and devotion. He wished nothing but to revenge the death of his good old father, and to relieve the religion of their holy prophet and the empire of Hindoostan, from the immediate danger with which they were threatened by the *unbelieving Dara*, and the *heretic Shoojah*. He knew perfectly well ere this, from his sister, and other friends at court, that his father had been long out of all danger, and almost restored to health; but he took care that Moorad should get no letters from Delhi or Agra. Chuleeloolah, and other secret friends of his about Dara, persuaded that prince to get Ourungzebe's able agent at court, Eesa Beg, dismissed by the Emperor on the pretence that he was conveying intelligence to his master; and by this means they contrived to convey to him all the information he most wanted, without the risk of having it intercepted. There was at this time hardly a man of any influence or note in the empire, with whom Ourungzebe was not in correspondence; and thirty thousand of the finest troops which Dara was preparing to send against him, were devoted to

his interest. Such were his industry, sagacity, and vigilance, that he seemed to those about him to control all events, from being so much more able to foresee, or becoming so much sooner acquainted with them, than any other person. But the qualities that stood him in most stead, were the quick and almost intuitive perception he had of the capacities, characters, and dispositions of men; and the ability to inspire all those who were able to serve him, with the desire to do so. He never left a service unrecompensed; and every man who had proved himself worthy of his confidence, felt that he possessed it. Justice was never more vigilantly or more rigorously administered than in the countries committed to his charge; and he always considered a reputation for strictness in that respect as no less necessary to his cause than one for undeviating piety; the more especially as the jurisprudence and the religion of the Mahomedans are alike derived from the sacred code.

An army was first sent by Dara against Shoojah, who was advancing upon the capital from Bengal. Shoojah's vicereignty was by far the richest. His cavalry alone amounted to forty thousand men; and he carried money enough in gold upon camels for the payment of his troops during the campaign. On mounting his horse to make his first march upon the capital, Shoojah exclaimed, "*Death or the throne;*" and this was always his motto. He caused it to be proclaimed as he advanced, that the Emperor had died of poison administered by his perfidious and unbelieving brother, Dara; and that he was hastening to revenge the murder of the *best of fathers*. The command of the army employed against Shoojah was given to Sooleeman Shakoh, the eldest son of Dara, then in his twenty-fifth year. He was as handsome as his father; and had all his father's good without any of his bad qualities. He was frank, generous, and affable; and beloved by all who approached him. Anxious to prevent a battle between his son and grandson if possible, the Emperor

appointed, as Sooleeman's lieutenant, the Rajah Jai Sing, of Jey-pore, who commanded the Rajpoot troops, and was esteemed one of the ablest men in the empire, and Dulele Khan, who commanded the Afghans. He ordered them to do all in their power to persuade Shoojah to retire into Beugal, without committing himself in an action with the troops of his father, who, they were to assure him, was now quite well, and as capable as ever of conducting the affairs of the government, and punishing his rebellion, should he persist in it. The armies met near the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, at Allahabad. The two lieutenants found it impossible to restrain the fire and impetuosity of the young Sooleeman, who burned with the desire to distinguish himself in the service of his insulted grandfather; and Shoojah could not be persuaded to avoid the action, as he knew that a great struggle was about to take place between Dara and the other two brothers; and a victory over the young Sooleeman might, probably, enable him to seize the capital and Emperor before the successful party could be prepared to march and intercept him. The action commenced with some discharge of artillery on both sides, and concluded with the retreat of Shoojah. His army would have been entirely destroyed had the two lieutenants supported the young prince vigorously in the pursuit; but they knew that the Emperor was unwilling that he should either be taken prisoner or entirely ruined. Sooleeman was arrested in his pursuit of his uncle at Mooghery by news from court, that his two other uncles were advancing rapidly from the Nerbudda towards Agra, where his father required the aid of his victorious troops. He had taken nearly all his uncle's artillery, with forty elephants, and a great number of prisoners; and having sent the whole off to his grandfather, he marched as fast as he could to support his father; but his two lieutenants did everything they could to retard his movements; Jai Sing, because Dara had, in one of his fits of passion, called him a *music*

master;* and Dulele Khan, because he thought it to be his interest to support in all things the views of his friend the Rajah Jai Sing.

* In the trial of one of the Roman consuls elect L. Muræna, for his scandalous mode of life, and for bribery and corruption, his accuser Cato, as the most monstrous of his manifold wickednesses, charged him with *dancing*. Cicero, who had undertaken his defence, replied to this charge thus: "I admonish you, Cato, not to throw out such a calumny so inconsiderately, or to call the consul of Rome a dancer; but to consider how many other crimes a man must needs be guilty of before that of dancing can be objected to him; since nobody ever danced even in solitude, or in a private meeting of friends, who was not either drunk or mad; for dancing is the last act of rioting, banqueting, gay places, and much jollity. You charge him, therefore, with what was the effect of many vices, yet with none of these without which that vice could not possibly subsist—with no scandalous feasts, no amours, no nightly revels, no lewdness, no extravagant expenses, &c." The Hindoo prince was just as much exasperated at being charged with having taken a part in a *concert*, as the Roman consul was at being accused of taking one in a *quadrille*. I really believe that any native gentlemen in India, Mus-ulman or Hindoo, would rather be accused of murder than of *dancing*. In the same speech Cicero implores Cato not to use his influence to deprive the people of their much-loved amusements of gladiatorial exhibitions, for though dancing was no doubt very atrocious, there could be no harm in putting three or four hundred couple of these people to murder each other on the stage for their amusement! Telemachus had not then raised his christian voice, nor were there Walter Scotts or Maria Edgeworths among them to disseminate that philosophy which teaches by emotions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OURUNGZEBE AND MOORAD DEFEAT THEIR FATHER'S ARMY NEAR OJÉYU.

SHAH JEHAN, unable to persuade Ourungzebe and Moorad to retire by orders written with his own hand, sent a force to arrest their progress, under the command of Kasim Khan, who revered the Emperor, but disliked Dara; and Jeswunt Sing, the Rajah of Joudpore, who had married the daughter of Chuttersaul, the Rajah of Hurrouthee or Kotah Kasim Khan, was appointed viceroy in Gozerat, in succession to Moorad, who was transferred to the viceroyalty of Berar. Jeswunt Sing was appointed viceroy of Malwa, with orders to see that Moorad obeyed and made place for Kasim. The Emperor commanded them, when they took leave, to prevail upon his sons, if possible, to return voluntarily to their governments before it should be too late. As they advanced, they sent messengers with letters to both Ourungzebe and Moorad, communicating the commands of their father; but Ourungzebe found little difficulty in persuading his brother, that these two chiefs were entirely in the interest of Dara, and not to be at all relied upon. It had been the intention of Jeswunt Sing to dispute the passage of the Nerbudda with Ourungzebe, and prevent the junction of the two brothers; but Ourungzebe after giving his troops two days' repose, crossed the Nerbudda on the 6th April, 1658; and on the 5th of that month the two armies joined. Jeswunt Sing advanced to the bank of the little river Gumbeer, ten miles south of Ojeyu, and about midway between that place and Debalpore, where the brothers had met. Jeswunt Sing called in all his detachments from Dhar and other

places, and made the best arrangements he could for the action. Ourungzebe tried to corrupt him, but in vain; although he is thought to have succeeded better with his colleague, Kasim Khan, who is supposed to have been won over. Jeswunt Sing felt that he depended upon the courage of his brave little band of eight thousand Rajpoot cavalry.* Mahomed Sultan crossed over at the head of his party, and the division of Kasim Khan, composed entirely of Mahomedans, gave way before his charge. Jeswunt Sing was left alone amidst his faithful Rajpoots, who fought desperately, in the hopes that Kasim Khan would rally his men, and return to the field. All their efforts were vain; and Jeswunt Sing, ashamed to show his face to the Emperor, retreated towards his own capital with less than one-fourth of his force, the rest having been all left dead or disabled on the field of battle, which took place on the 17th of April 1658. Ourungzebe built a fine mosque, and a caravanserai on the ground, to commemorate this action; and rested a few days to refresh his soldiers.† Jeswunt Sing, when he reached the gates of his own capital, found them shut against him. His wife declared that he could not be her husband. "It is impossible that Jeswunt Sing, if defeated, as he is reported to have been at Ojeyn, can be still alive; he must have died by the hands of the enemy in the midst of his brave followers, or by his own hands; and in either case my duty is clear. I can follow him to the next world upon the funeral pile, but I can never meet him again in this." The funeral pile was prepared, but she could find no relict of her husband to burn herself with—for nine days she was inexorable, "A daughter

* Mahomedan historians relate, that when a son of a Rajpoot fell in this battle, the father was seen to dip his finger in his blood, stain his own forehead with it, and then rush furiously upon the enemy to revenge his death.


† In a letter to the king of Beejapore, announcing this victory, Ourungzebe says that six thousand of the enemy had been killed.

of Chuttersaul," said she, "cannot be the wife of a craven!" At last her mother persuaded her that her husband had been betrayed by the traitor Kasim Khan; that he had fled not from Ourungzebe, but merely retired to raise new levies to fight him with, and to retrieve for the Emperor the advantages he had lost; and that the honour and interests of their family and the state depended upon the support he might now be able to give to the Emperor and his eldest son, betrayed, as they appeared to be, by all the Mahomed chiefs of the army.* She thereupon consented to see him; and he was soon again in a condition to take the field.

As soon as Shah Jehan heard of this defeat, he raised his eyes to heaven and exclaimed, "O Lord, thy will be done; it is for my sins that I am afflicted, and much heavier punishments have they merited." Dara broke out into the most ungovernable fits of passion; and demanded vengeance upon the family of Ameer Jumla. He wished to have the heads of his wife and son struck off; and his daughters sent to the bazaar, and sold to prostitutes, as he was, he said, the great author of all these calamities since he furnished his rebellious brothers with the men, money, and cannon, that were the sole sinews of their strength. Shah Jehan would not suffer them to be molested, saying. "That the Ameer must have been betrayed and seized by violence, as he had too much good sense voluntarily to expose the members

* Mahomedan historians relate instances of the taunting of the female members of his family. On the occasion he remarked that some jessamine flowers which his wife held in her hand had less odour than usual. She sharply replied, "That the odour was the same, but his sense of smell had been impaired ever since he put his foot upon his nose"—that is run away. His cook one day excused himself for delaying to bring dinner, by saying, "That he had been obliged to cook it in iron utensils instead of brass." "Impudent knave," said his sister, "how dare you mention iron before his highness. Do you not know how much he abhors it?"

of his family to so much danger ; and he was himself probably suffering from his misplaced confidence in the honour of Ourungzebe, and now languishing in a dungeon with fetters upon his legs like a common felon !” The Emperor now proposed to take the field, and command the army in person, though still very weak from sickness ; but Dara was afraid that he should sink into insignificance if his father commanded, for he was idolized by the people ; and he used all his efforts to dissuade him. In these efforts he was joined by the princess Roshunara, Khuleeloolah Khan and other friends of Ourungzebe, who feared that Moorad would retire with his army the moment he found his father was really moving in person against him, and that all the old chiefs of the empire, who had already been brought over by Ourungzebe, or were wavering in their fidelity, would at once rally round him. Yielding to their earnest, and apparently honest solicitude, the Emperor intreated Dara at least to wait for his son Sooleeman, who was on his way back from Mooghere with an army of tried courage and fidelity ; but Dara was too confident of success, or unwilling that his son, already covered with laurels as he was by the defeat of Shoojah, should share in the renown of conquering the two other brothers.



CHAPTER XXXIX

DARA MARCHES IN PERSON AGAINST HIS BROTHERS, AND IS DEFEATED.

HE left Agra at the head of an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse, fifty thousand foot, and about a thousand pieces of artillery. Almost all the large guns were served by Europeans. There were sixty small pieces of artillery mounted on the backs of sixty elephants; and innumerable camels with similar but smaller pieces. The private camp equipage of Dara, who had the folly to take all his family with him, was carried upon the backs of five hundred camels. He proceeded in five days to the banks of the Chumbul, where they were to dispute the passage of that river with the rebels; and here he fortified a strong position on its north bank about twenty-five miles from Agra, on the 25th of May, 1658. Oorungzebe came up a few days after with an army almost worn down with the fatigues of such long marches in the hottest season of the year; and deeming it too dangerous to attempt the passage of this large river in the face of an enemy fresh from the capital, and more than three times the amount of his own, he purchased by large bribes from a Hindoo prince, Chumpet, whose territories lay along the bank of this river, permission to march through these territories during the night unmolested, and cross the river at a good ford about fifteen miles to the east of Dara's camp. Eight thousand men were sent on to take possession of the ford; and when the two brothers received intelligence that this had been effected, they broke up their camp soon after dark, and moved with so much secrecy and celerity, that they had nearly crossed

the river before Dara was aware that they had left their ground. He sent on a division of the army under Khuleeloolah Khan, to check the passage of the enemy till he could bring up the main body; but this chief had been corrupted by Ourungzebe, and did all he could to facilitate his passage. As soon as the main body of daring and devoted Rajpoots came up, Ram Sing urged Dara to attack the enemy before they could entrench themselves; but his advice was overruled by Khuleeloolah the traitor, who urged the danger of an immediate attack, and the advantage of waiting. The enemy were allowed to advance to Samongur on the bank of the Jumna, within ten miles of Agra; and there to entrench themselves.* Dara placed himself between them and the capital; and the armies remained within sight of each other four days without an action. The Emperor wrote to urge Dara still to wait the arrival of the army under his son, and sent him a present of the imperial sabre, but was told in reply, that before this army could join him his majesty might expect his two rebellious sons in chains at his feet!

Dara drew up his army in order of battle on the 1st of June. He had ascertained from a Byragee, a Hindoo mendicant, called Purangeer, the lucky hour to begin the battle: Khuleeloolah had command of the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Mogul troops, having been raised to the rank of a captain-general of the cavalry in the place of Danishmund Khan, who had recently resigned that post in disgust at the treatment he received from Dara.† The left wing was commanded by Rostum Khan, and the Rajahs Ramsing ‡ and Chuttersaul of Hurrouthee.

* Samongur was from that time named Futtehabad or the town of victory the 7th June, 1658.

† The French physician Bernier was in the service of this Danishmund Khan.

‡ Ramsing is commonly called the Rotealee; and he is supposed to have been a son or nephew of the Hurrouthee or Kotah chief, Chuttersaul, the father of Jeswant Sing's wife.

The centre by Dara himself. Moorad commanded the right wing of the rebel army, Ourungzebe the centre, and Mahomed, his son, the left wing. The right wing did nothing under the traitor Khuleeloolah, who assumed authority over the officers of artillery, and by his manœuvres rendered their fire entirely useless. The centre division under Dara fought bravely, and carried everything before them; while Ram Sing, with his devoted body of Rajpoots in the left wing, cut his way through the right wing of the enemy, up to the high elephant on which its leader, Moorad, was seated with his son.* Moorad received three arrows in his face; and his elephant-driver being killed, he was obliged to guide it himself with one hand, while he defended himself and his son with the other. Unable to reach him from his horse, Ram Sing leaped from his saddle, and attempted with his sword to cut the ropes which supported the castle in which he sat, and throw him to the ground. Moorad stabbed him with a javelin from above; and the enraged animal dashed him to pieces against the ground. Rostum Khan had before been killed by a cannon shot, while the youngest son of Dara, Sipeher Shekoh, sat by his side;† but Chuttersaul, with his five thousand horse, was still a rallying point for the Rajpoot soldiers, who seemed to bear down all before them.

The battle seemed now lost to Ourungzebe, who was obliged to give way before Dara, though supported gallantly by his son,

* This was Eezud Buksh, the son of Dara, whom Ourungzebe took out from the fort of Gwalior and married to his daughter, Mihoronnissa, in the 15th year of his reign.

† On the death of Rostum Khan, this youth was taken to his father Dara, with whom he remained during the rest of the action. These princes took their sons with them in action to show that they were confident of victory, and thereby to inspire their soldiers with courage. This Rostum Khan built the city of Moradabad, in Rohilcund, while he was governor of the province and called it after Moorad, the youngest son of his master, the Emperor Shah Jehan, to whom he was now opposed.


Mahomed Sultan, but at this moment the traitor Khuleeloolah, as a last desperate effort, to which he was animated by his knowledge of the impetuous character of the prince, rode up to Dara; told him that the enemy had given way throughout the line, and implored him to make the most of the victory which God had given him, descend from his elephant, which moved so slowly, mount his horse, and seize Ourungzebe, who would otherwise make good his retreat, and get back to his government in the Deccan. This unfortunate prince, who in times of peace could never tolerate the advice of any man, again lost his only chance of victory by resigning himself blindly to the preposterous councils of a traitor. His majestic presence upon his elephant, waving on his men in the front of the battle, had animated them to fits of irresistible enthusiasm. The moment that his troops saw his place upon this elephant vacant, the cry ran through the ranks like an electric shock that Dara was killed, and from that moment they ceased to fight, for they had no longer anything to fight for. Dara rushed upon the enemy on horseback, but soon saw his error. The traitor had left his side for that of Ourungzebe; and carried over with him his best Mogul troops. Dara tried to rally his forces, but in vain; the panic and flight had become general, the defeat irretrievable. The action had lasted from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon. Ourungzebe sat on his elephant with his quoran in his arms, animating his soldiers by his presence in the scenes of greatest danger; and always repeating, "God guides you, my brave soldiers, God guides you;" and all orthodox Mahomedans of the *soonnee* sect to this day believe, that God did really guide them, and confound Dara and his army; for they conceive that their religion was never in greater peril than on that day, when Ourungzebe, a devoted Mahomedan of their sect, was opposed to his brother, an unbeliever. This battle was fought on the eighth of the month of Ramzan, during all which month Mussulmans fast from the dawn of day till sunset; and when, as on this occasion,

Ramzan occurs in the hottest season of the year, and in the longest days, they all become very weak and spiritless.

Ourungzebe took possession of the tents and baggage of the imperial army; and placing Moorad in the tent of Dara, retired to a small hut, where he remained a long time in prayer, offering up thanks to God for this great victory! From this hut he emerged like a man inspired, and with the quoran pressed in his bosom, and the prayers still flowing from his lips, he entered the apartment of Moorad, and presented to him the traitor Khuleeloolah. "It is," said he, "to Heaven, to your majesty, and to this, the most able and faithful of your friends, that we are indebted for this victory! I have done my first duty in returning thanks to the great eternal God, who to-day interposed his arm for the protection of the law of his prophet! My second is to prostrate myself before my earthly master, and to offer him my congratulation. By your unexampled behaviour you have, with troops worn down by fatigue, and exhausted by privations, defeated and dispersed the most splendid army that ever took the field in India! I have now only to solicit your favour for our friend, who has aided in this fortunate commencement of your reign; and who will always be found worthy to fill a post of honour in that empire of which you are now become the master. As for me, my destiny is about to be accomplished. As soon as a third victory shall have placed you upon the throne you so much merit, I shall go and reign over my passions in solitude, whilst you maintain the religion of the one God over all the regions of Hindoostan."

By placing near his brother this traitor, who was devoted to his interests, he was sure to be made acquainted with all that was said or done in his camp! and while he treated his brother as his master, he was in communication with his sister Roshunara, and several other influential persons about his father, and with almost every viceroy and officer of any note in the empire, who all looked up to him as the master spirit that must ultimately have to decide

upon their destinies. All his nights were spent in these communications ; and while to the careless he appeared to think of nothing but a future state, the more observing saw, that his was the only mind in the army that knew no rest from worldly cares. He wrote to the two lieutenants under Sooleeman, Jai sing and Dulele Khan, to tell them of the defeat of Dara ; and to command them to put their prince to death, or to bring him in chains to the feet of the conqueror Moorad Buksh. Though he always pretended to be acting for his youngest brother, Moorad, he wished the people to know, that the power and the wisdom on which the struggle of this great contest was to depend, were his—that if his brother should really be suffered to reap the fruit, it would be by his forbearance ; and that if he should choose to grasp the helm himself, they might all be found willing to submit to the guidance of a pilot whose skill had been tried in such a tempest. Shaesta Khan, the brother of the mother of all the children of Shah Jehan, (who now lies buried by her husband's side in the most splendid of all the tombs of the earth, the Mousalman at Agra, and had died long before the struggle for empire began,) was considered as the most accomplished writer at that time in Hindustan ; and he, like, Khuleeloolah, had been exasperated against Dara by some supposed indignity, or by a deportment which showed too plainly that Dara's accession to the throne must tend greatly to diminish his power and influence. He now employed the power for which he had been so much distinguished, to gratify his revenge, by forming parties to support the cause of Ourungzebe in every quarter of the empire. •



CHAPTER XL.



DARA RETREATS TOWARDS LAHORE—IS ROBBED BY THE JATS—
THEIR CHARACTER.

AS soon as Jy sing and Dulele Khan received Ourungzebe's letters, it was determined that they should be shown to the young prince, that he might be induced to fly from the army, and thus save them from the dilemma of either supporting the weaker side, or seizing and delivering the most amiable and most popular member of all the imperial family into the hands of the victor, who would probably some day himself, out of policy, punish them for having presumed to lay violent hands upon his person. Besides, the prince was a favourite among the soldiers; and they would not allow him to be taken without much bloodshed. Under these considerations Jy sing, to whom Dulele Khan was entirely subservient from views of interest, took the letters upon in his hand to that prince, who had himself just heard of his father's defeat and flight; and urged him to leave the army forthwith and seek an asylum with Prithoe Sing, the Raja of Seereenuggur in the Himmalah mountains, who would receive him hospitably, and in his fastnesses be able to defend him against all the armies in the world. Sooleeman soon saw, that in all the army he had so successfully commanded against his uncle, now that his father had been defeated and driven from the capital, he could calculate upon the fidelity of only a few personal friends; and with these set out under a solemn pledge from the two lieutenants, that they would protect him in his flight, and secure the safety of all the property he took with him. He had an elephant loaded entirely

with gold coins; and this, with the greater part of all the other valuable property, was soon taken from him by detachments sent secretly after him for the purpose by these two traitors. By these parties and the militia of the great landholders along the road, who always seized with avidity the opportunity of plundering flying armies, or detachments of whatever party, he lost almost all his baggage; while many of his remaining followers were killed in the attempt to defend it; and still more discouraged from following him to the end of his journey. He reached at length the capital of the Rajah, lying on the banks of the Alukuunda river, thirty miles above its junction with the Ganges! and only six stages from Hurdwar, where the united streams emerge into the great plains of India. He had his wife and child with him. The Rajah received him with all honour, and cordial hospitality; and assured him that he would be there as safe, and he hoped as happy, as if he was himself sovereign of the country.

Dara, after his defeat, was ashamed to see his father, but he had an interview with his sister, Jehanara, as he passed through Agra in his retreat towards Delhi. His father tried, through her and other confidential messengers, to inspire him with hopes; and sent him one hundred camel loads of gold and silver coin, to assist him in raising new levies. He took with him his wife, who was the daughter of his uncle Purvez, his daughters, and his youngest son, Sipeher Shekoh, and about four hundred persons, all that still remained faithful to him in his misfortunes; but he expected to be joined at Delhi by the army of his son Socleeman, on whose fidelity he thought he could still rely, but by which that son had been already actually deserted, plundered, and driven a fugitive to the mountains. On his way from Agra to Delhi he was attacked by the Jats, a tribe known up to that time only as peasants and robbers. They plundered him of almost all his valuable property; and among other things took the hundred camel loads of gold and silver with which he

had been provided by his father. The fruits of this and other similar attacks upon travellers and remnants of armies, were laid out in the construction of the mud forts of Bhurtpore, Hatras, Deeg, Gohud, &c., which enabled their leaders to make depredations on all the surrounding territories, and retain garrisons that were long considered impregnable by the natives, and afterwards found very formidable even to our own armies.

The spirit of union, which animated and strengthened them in their infancy, as mere bands of robbers, fostered and supported their growth to the mature age of formidable principalities, when it became dignified with the name of patriotism, or national feeling. They continued, what they had always been, cultivators of the soil and robbers; only they now robbed upon a large scale; and had not two powerful rivals appeared, in the English and Mahrattas, the Jâts would probably have soon become sole masters of the empire of Hindoostan. Out of the nuclei of these bands of robbers, grown into principalities and converted to the religion of Nank Shab extending from the Jumna to the Indus, was formed, by one master spirit, the empire of the Seiks. The unconverted Jâts along the Jumna and Chumbul, virtually wielded the power of the house of Tymoor on the throne of Delhi, when those two rivals entered the arena; and they waited only for the same master spirit, the Runjeet sing, to unite their efforts upon more distant expeditions, with the name, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war! Along the Jumna and Chumbul they have now, under a government that can effectually prevent their indulging their old sporting propensities, sunk quietly down into peaceful subjects and industrious peasantry, and between the Jumna and the Indus, it is to be hoped they will, at no distant period, sink to the same state under the same beneficent rule. There is this difference between the two. The gangs or armies of both were composed almost exclusively of members of the same family or

tribe, Jâts or Seiks, (which the Jâts easily became, having no recognized caste of their own among Hindoos;) but the conquest and occupation of Cashmere, Peshawar, and Mooltan, augmented the Seik army so much, that it absorbed all the members of the tribe over the country they occupied; their ploughshares were all converted into swords; and every Nank Shahee Jât became a soldier. Their places in agriculture were filled by men of other castes; and the Seiks became segregated from the soil, and from the mass of the peaceful and industrious over whom they tyrannized, and with whom they have never since had any bond of union or sympathy—"a breath may mar them as a breath hath made." The Jâts along the Chumbul and the Jumna, on the contrary, were never united under any conqueror, whose ambition could combine and direct their powers to foreign conquests, and keep them up as a standing army employed exclusively in military duties for his service. They continued to drive their own ploughs while they fought their own battles; or their families drove them for them, like the Romans in the early periods of their history. Dara had orders from his father to the governor of Delhi, to furnish him with all the elephants and horses in the imperial stables, which would of themselves have been sufficient to mount a considerable force; but this governor, who had been in correspondence with Onrungzebe, knew that Sooleeman had fled to the mountains, and left all his army to the victor; and he refused to allow Dara to enter into the citadel, or to take anything from the treasury, arsenals, or stables of his father. Dara now, deserted by all the chiefs whom he had inserted in his days of pride and power, proceeded by a rapid march to Lahore, accompanied by about ten thousand men, mostly new levies.

CHAPTER XLI.

SHAH JEHAN IMPRISONED BY HIS TWO SONS, OURUNGZEBE AND MOORAD.

ON the 3rd of June, 1658, Ourungzebe and Moorad marched their armies to Agra, and encamped about two miles from the fortress in which stood the palace of their father. Shah Jehan tried all he could to persuade his two sons to pay him a visit it unattended; and for several days the people of the capital were amused with the preparations for the interview. It was Shali Jehan's intention to have them both seized and put to death, or confined in prison, by means of a band of masculine Calmuck women, whom he kept well armed in the seraglio. All that he did and intended to do was made known to Ourungzebe, by his sister Roshunara, and other friends with whom he kept up a close correspondence. Jehanara, however, steady to the interests of her father and Dara, entered into the scheme; and did all she could to persuade Ourungzebe to come into the citadel, and become reconciled to his father. Two plans had been proposed and deliberated upon after the defeat of Dara. One, for the Emperor to take the field, and rally round him all the chiefs and forces that he could; the other to inveigle the rebel brothers into the fortress, and there to dispose of them. Ourungzebe was made every day acquainted with these deliberations; and afraid that the emperor might be tempted to adopt that plan which would still give him a chance of success, he made his sister Jehanara believe, that he was really impatient to throw himself at his father's feet, and implore forgiveness for the past, if she could only secure to him protection against the resentment of his two brothers, the ambitious Moorad

and the haughty Dara! All this she believed, because she wished it; and because Moorad had insulted her by the insolent manner in which he received her advances. Moorad never knew how or when to suppress his emotions, or subdue his passions. Jehanara, hating as she did her brother Ourungzebe, paid her first visit to Moorad, pretending that she believed Ourungzebe had been honest in considering him as the Commander-in-chief. Moorad knowing how much she was devoted to Dara, and opposed to them, treated her with indignity; and she was leaving the camp in disgust when Ourungzebe rushed out bare-footed, and holding one of the legs of her palanqueen in his right hand, ran along by her side, and entreated her to honour his tent with her presence, if but for a moment. She was pleased with this mark of homage from the real commander of a victorious army in the midst of his soldiers; and went back to his tent, where she was flattered into the persuasion, that Ourungzebe was really the man he pretended to be, and deterred from seeking a reconciliation with his father merely by the dread of the resentment and ambition of his brothers! Full of this persuasion, and pleased with the notion that she had herself inspired him with these better feelings, she returned to her father to make arrangements for the expected interview.*

Shah Jehan was by this means prevented from taking the field, or appearing out of the palace, where he waited day after day expecting the promised visits of his sons. Ourungzebe deferred his visit on various pretences, till at last an *intercepted letter* was brought to him in open council, addressed from the emperor to Dara, commanding him to advance no further than Delhi, as he was about to receive a visit from his two brothers, and should take good care that they never stood in his way again. This

* Jehanara's visit took place on the 12th of June, 1659, and Ourungzebe and Moorad went and took possession of the palace of Dara on the 15th.

letter had been forged by Ourungzebe himself for the occasion ; but the thing had been so well contrived and executed, that hardly any person in the army but this prince himself and Shaestakhan knew the secret ; and the sympathy for the father, which had begun to be felt by all classes of people through the army and city, was in some measure transferred to the two rebel sons. "The bird that escaped the net is about to be caught again," was the expression in this letter, which was sent by a fast runner well known, and called Nadir Dil. It was intercepted by one of Shaestakhan's troopers. The fortress was surrounded by the two armies, and the prince Mahomed had erected his batteries ready to blow down the walls, when his grandfather consented to receive him as the representative of his father Ourungzebe, who pretended to be extremely ill. This prince contrived to gain over the soldiers on duty at the gates, who admitted a considerable body of select armed followers. Advancing with them to the interior apartments of the palace, he put to death every man he met, without distinction. Soldiers, slaves, eunuchs, and women, were all indiscriminately murdered. Shah Jehan sat on his throne ready to receive him, amidst the presents of inestimable value, which had been prepared as a bait for his father. The Emperor was mad with rage when he found himself foiled at his own game, and actually a prisoner in the hands of his grandson with his attendants cut down and massacred at his palace doors. In his passion he sent to the young soldier, and invited him to come in and ascend the throne at which his father was aiming, but which he would disgrace by his crimes. He offered to swear solemnly on the Koran, to bestow that throne on him, and maintain him upon it, if he would only set himself up as the defender of his old grandfather against his rebellious sons. 'Such an action would,' he said, "secure to him the blessing of heaven, and establish him in the affections of all good men, who would applaud the delivery of his grandfather from a vile prison, and the punishment of two rebellious sons."

Had Mahomed consented to be made the means of avenging the old man's injuries upon his two sons, he might possibly have attained the throne, but distrusting his grandfather's designs, and dreading his father's powers and abilities to frustrate them, should they be honest, he declined the invitation, and demanded the key of every gate of the fortress, that his father might come with full assurance of safety to *throw himself at his feet*.* For two days Mahomed waited with all his men under arms to receive the keys, till at last Shah Jehau, seeing all the guards, one after the other, withdrawn from the small gates that led to his apartments, delivered up the keys to his grandson, who conveyed them to his father. Ourangzebe sent in Etbar Khan, as temporary governor of the fortress; and he shut up the Emperor and his eldest daughter, and all his women, in their apartments, causing all the gateways, doors, and windows that were not indispensable, and well-guarded, to be walled up, to prevent any communication between them and the people without, except through him.* Ourangzebe wrote at the same time a short letter addressed to his father, excusing himself for proceeding to such lengths against his *angust person*, on the ground of his evident determination to sacrifice all his other sons to the passions and ambition of Dara, as evinced in the intercepted letter, and the necessity they were under to provide for their own safety. "Had it not been for these, his father's designs against his life, he should," he said, "have paid his respects to him on the first day of his arrival; and as soon as he should have put it out of Dara's power further to prosecute his evil designs, he would still come, open the gates to him, throw himself at his feet, and implore his forgiveness and blessing. He took care that copies of this letter should be circulated through the armies, and sent to all the provinces of the empire; but it is

* The Emperor was put in prison on the 16th of June, 1658.

believed he never sent it to his father, as it was no longer a matter of any importance to him what *he* might think or feel upon the subject of his conduct towards him.

The family of Ameer Jumla had been set at liberty when the victors first entered Agra ; and he was now sent off as the viceroy of Moorad, to Gozarat and Khandeish. The treasures found in the palace were, to all appearance, divided equally among the brothers ; but it was Ourungzebe's policy to allow much to be concealed, where he was sure hereafter to find it ; and of what was taken, the greater part went unperceived to his coffers. He appointed their uncle, Shaestakhan, in whose devotion and ability he could entirely rely, as governor of the city ; and all the great officers of state now flocked about him to tender their services. The Emperor, who had suffered himself to be thus shut up in his own apartment, was no longer thought of. Had he, instead of attempting to contest with his wary son, Ourungzebe, at his own game, and trying to inveigle him into his power, boldly shown himself among his troops a few days before, the armies which he had created and commanded with brilliant and uninterrupted success for thirty years, would still, it is thought by most people, have supported him ; and his sons might have been ashamed openly to fight against their venerable father. Their only hope, at first, lay in his being unable to show himself at the head of his troops in the field, or being persuaded to remain at home by Dara ; as this was the only thing that could give a colour to their impudent pretence, that he was a prisoner in the hands of his eldest son, and not a free agent, and that they had really taken up arms to rescue and avenge him. But after they had got to the capital, and Dara had fled before them, it was, perhaps, too late for him to do so, with a fair chance of success. Many of the most powerful leaders, who knew perfectly well that the Emperor was all along a free agent, had compromised themselves by openly joining the rebel sons ; and like these sons them-

selves, they all felt that they had gone too far to recede—that they must now crush the Emperor or perish. It is thought that the old man would have made the attempt, had not Ourungzebe managed to persuade his sister Jehanara, that he would really wait upon his father, and throw himself at his feet. She certainly prevailed upon her father to rely upon her assurance, that Ourungzebe would come ; and the father knew the incapacity of Mocrad too well to care whether he came or not.



CHAPTER XLII

OURUNGZEE THROWS OFF THE MASK, IMPRISONS HIS BROTHER MOORAD
AND ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

HAVING secured the person of the Emperor, and provided for the fidelity and tranquillity of the capital, the two armies commenced their march in pursuit of the fugitive Dara—Ourungzebe's army keeping on the right, and Moorad's on the left bank of the river Jumna. Ourungzebe crossed the river, and passed much time with his brother every day, talking chiefly on the subject of his coronation, which he had resolved should take place near the old mosque at Mathara, but his real design seemed clear to everybody but his infatuated brother himself. He was advised to remain at the capital, since he had been declared Emperor, and to permit Ourungzebe to pursue Dara alone; but his desire for military fame would not permit him to see his armies led to further victories by another. His favourite attendant, the eunuch Shah' Abas, every day urged upon him the necessity of guarding himself against the designs of his brother, which had become evident to everybody but himself; but nothing could awaken the suspicions of Moorad, who saw the preparations that his brother was making for his coronation with undisguised delight, and entirely relied upon his affection, and professed desire to devote himself entirely to religion, and to see on the throne the man who was most likely to enforce its observances. Before the armies left Agra, that of Moorad clamoured for arrears of pay, and he tried in vain to persuade the bankers of that city to send him the means to defray them. Ourungzebe's army had been

regularly paid, and he now lent Moorad money enough to pay his their arrears. During the whole march to Mathara, discipline had been entirely disregarded in Moorad's army. The tents of the prince were scenes of perpetual debauchery ; and riot and disorder filled his camp. In Ourungzebe's, on the contrary, the strictest discipline was observed ; the whole army went to their morning, evening, and midday prayers, with as much regularity in camp as in quarters. Councils were regularly held ; and all the principal officers were made to feel that they had the confidence of their prince, and could entirely rely upon him as long as he should be able to rely upon them. This confidence in the capacity of their leader, and his ability to discern merit and reward services, the officers imparted to their men ; and, in spite of all his crimes and dissimulations, no man ever commanded an army more devoted to his service.

The preparations for the coronation of Moorad being ready, the day for the ceremony, after consulting the stars, was fixed for the 27th of June, 1658. The spot chosen was the great plain in front of the old mosque. Tents, formed of the richest gold brocade, were pitched all round this plain ; and the whole area within was covered with canopies of rich coloured cloth, supported upon poles fastened to the ground by ropes of silk. Upon a throne, under these magnificent canopies, and in the midst of the armies, Moorad was to receive the turban and the imperial sabre from the hands of the great Quazee, or chief priest of the Mahomedan religion. The day before the ceremony was to have taken place, Ourungzebe was unable to pay his usual evening visit to Moorad, in consequence of sudden indisposition ; and, as it was necessary once more to consult the astrologers about the suitableness of the day fixed upon, he begged Moorad would come and sup with him. Shah Abas again urged his prince not to put himself in the power of his brother, but in vain. They were followed by only a few of his household troops. As he

landed on the right bank of the river, he met an old acquaintance, Ibrahim Khan, now an officer in his brother's army. Shocked to see the generous prince so infatuated, he seized his horse by the bridle, and exclaimed, "Whither are you going, my prince, and what evil star leads you to Ourungzebe?"

"I go, Ibrahim, to fetch the crown; it is from the Quazee's hands that I am to receive it."

Ibrahim retired, and turning away his face, wiped a tear from his eye, for he had received from him much kindness, though he was now in the service of another. The Quazee, from whom he was to receive the imperial ensigns, met him at the door of Ourungzebe's tent, and tried to put him on his guard by greeting him with these words—"Your entrance is fortunate, my prince. May it please the Almighty that your departure may be so likewise?"

There was so much of kindness, affection, and respect in the manner with which Ourungzebe received his brother, that all feelings of distrust were removed in their cordial embrace, not only from Moorad's own bosom, but from that of every one of his followers, save the trusty Shah Abas, who gave his master up as lost. Ourungzebe, while he embraced him with all the warmth of a brother's affection, addressed him with all the respect of a subject. After embracing him, he, with the feelings of the tenderest solicitude, gently passed his handkerchief over his face, and wiped off the dust and perspiration of this journey; for the weather had become intensely hot, and the roads were very dusty. He had arranged everything with Ameer Khan, and a few other of his confidential officers, who usually supped with him; and when the wine began to circulate, he begged his brother to permit him to take a little repose, as he was still weak, and in a good deal of pain; and wished to prepare for the august ceremonies of the coronation, which was to take place the next morning. The wine of Shiraz circulated freely. Moorad got drunk,

and fell asleep upon the carpet. All the rest retired. All Moorad's officers had, by Ourungzebe's orders, been entertained by the principal officers of his suite with the same excellent wines. Shah Abas and the other attendant, when they found their master left alone, went in and sat by him as he slept; but about midnight Ourungzebe ordered them out, that his brother might sleep the more quietly. He had then his sword and poniard removed, as if they incommoded him; and shortly after going in himself, he put on an air of great indignation, and spurned Moorad with his foot. "What shame, what infamy are you bringing upon us and our cause? An emperor of the Moguls to be lying drunk upon the floor! What will be said of us? Take this infamous man," exclaimed he, in a seeming transport of rage, "this beastly drunkard, who thus violates the laws of God and his holy prophet, and throw him into yonder dark room to sleep out his wine unseen by man!"

Six men rushed in well armed, with silver fetters. Moorad awoke, stood up, and, not finding his sword, called out lustily for help. "Let him die if he resists," said his brother. The fetters were soon put upon his legs; and he was thrown into a separate tent, and well guarded. The music continued to play as if nothing had interrupted the festivity of the two brothers; and the friends of Moorad, roused by his shouts, were rushing towards him, when they were assured that their master, in a fit of drunkenness, too common to him, had been abusing everybody, even his own brother, and was now put to bed that he might repose, and be ready for the ceremonies in the morning. Shah Abas was at the same time pinioned and thrown into another tent. Men were sent through the whole camp with the same story about Moorad's drunken fit, and with handsome presents to all the principal officers; and promises of increased pay and promotion to the whole army, as a reward for the value of their past services. In the morning the greater part of Moorad's army came across the river

to see the ceremony of the coronation, all unarmed, according to orders, as it had been pretended, that on the occasion of such tumultuous rejoicings, it might be dangerous to allow the multitude to be armed. Almost all the officers had expected this event, and the greater part of them desired it, as they considered Ourungzebe to be the only man who could lead them safely through the perilous enterprise in which they had all embarked their hopes, and only dreaded that he might be honest in his professed desire of a life of religious retirement.

Moorad and his faithful follower, Shah Abas, had before daylight, on the morning that he was to have been crowned, been placed in two close litters, and sent off upon the backs of two elephants towards Delhi, where they were imprisoned in the small fort of Suleengurh, situated upon an island in the Jumna.* Some of the most trusty of the troops of Ourungzebe were placed all around the enclosure; and when the armies had assembled to witness the coronation, some persons, placed near the platform on which it was to take place, called out, "Long life to Ourungzebe?". This was echoed by other persons placed in different parts of the area, and by the armed squadrons outside, and soon after shouted with an enthusiasm throughout the whole multitude; and when Ourungzebe, who waited only for this signal, showed himself upon the platform where his brother was to have been crowned, he was received with tumultuous shouts of applause, as if but one uncontrollable feeling of delight animated the whole mass. He seated himself for a moment upon the throne, and then retired.

There was not the slightest appearance of a movement in favour of his brother, or a change in the minds of the people; they had lost their nominal, but retained their real head; and they

* Moorad was put in prison on the 27th of June, 1658. Ourungzebe was formally crowned Emperor on the 23rd of July, 1658; and the day after set out in pursuit of Dara. The coronation took place in the Shalamar garden, near Delhi.

all felt, that in reality there had been a change for the better, that they were under the undisguised command of a man capable of conducting them to wealth, honour, and glory; and bound to wear the crown they should win for him, or perish. "The Empire became," says a sensible Italian narrator of these events, "the fruit of an intrigue the best sustained, and most ably conducted of any recorded in history." Ourungzebe was now forty years of age his father, Shah Jehan, sixty-seven.

Ourungzebe now left Mathara at the head of both armies, and proceeded to Delhi in search of Dara, who, hearing of his approach, left that city, and took the road to Lahore, raising troops and levying contributions for their payment as he advanced. Sooleeman, at the head of seven thousand men, whom he had collected around him in the mountains, descended into the plains at Hurdwar to join his father; but Ourungzebe, calculating upon the probability of this attempt, had pushed on Fidae Khan, at the head of fifteen thousand veteran troops, who soon dispersed the new levies of the young prince, and he was obliged to return to the mountains. Dara passed the Sutlege at the head of thirty thousand men; crossed the Bea, and leaving there a large force, under the command of Daood Khan, to defend the passage against his brother, went on to Lahore.

Ourungzebe, six days after the coronation, on the 29th of July, set out in pursuit of Dara. The solstitial rains had set in heavily, and the countries over which the armies passed were for the most part under water. He knew the danger of giving repose either to Dara or his own troops. He was often alone many miles in advance of his troops, eating nothing but dry unleavened bread, drinking nothing but water, and reposing, when he reposed at all, under a tree with nothing but his shield for a pillow, like the humblest soldier in his army. Daood Khan had taken up a strong position on the Bea, had fortified it well, was devotedly attached to the cause of Dara, and so strong in force, that he could

have effectually kept Ourungzebe in check several months. Ourungzebe saw this, and having endeavoured in vain to corrupt him, he managed, through his friends in Dara's camp, to circulate reports so much to his prejudice, that Dara commanded him to abandon the post, and join him at Lahore! He did so with great reluctance. Ourungzebe passed the Bea without opposition, and continued the pursuit. Dara should have retreated from Lahore upon Cabool, where Mohubbut reigned as viceroy, was much beloved by the army and the people, and devotedly attached to the cause of Shah Jehan and Dara. He commanded the Khyber Pass between Cabool and Lahore, and the Bhoian Pass between Bukkur and Candahar; which passes have always been considered the keys of Hindoostan to the westward, and might have been easily defended against Ourungzebe by a very small force. The traitor, Khulceloolah, however, who deserted him on the Chumbul, and others who had been sent on in advance, in pursuit of him, were too close to give him much time for deliberation; and in an evil hour he determined to take the road through Moiltan to Gozerat. His troops, finding that they had nothing to hope, and everything to fear from the guidance of such a man, who never seemed to know what to do, or whom to trust in time of difficulty, now deserted him in crowds.



CHAPTER XLIII.

OURUNGZEBE MEETS SHOOJAH IN BENGAL AND DEFEATS HIM, AFTER
PURSUING DARA TO THE HYPHASIS.

OURUNGZEBE pursued him so far as Mooltan, and there, finding that he was no longer formidable, and that his brother Shoojah was in full march from Bengal to Delhi, with the pretended desire to release their father and Moorad from prison, he left the pursuit to a division under the command of his foster brother, Meer Baba, and retraced his steps with the rest of his army towards Delhi.* Between Mooltan and Lahore, while, as usual, several miles in advance of his troops, he suddenly and unexpectedly met the Rajah Jysing, at the head of six thousand Rajpoot cavalry. Jysing was following up with the design of siding with the strongest, for he was attached to the old Emperor, Shah Jehan, and would have been glad of an opportunity of rescuing him from prison, though he disliked Dara, from the affront he had passed upon him in calling him a music-master. When he saw Ourungzebe advancing towards him on his elephant, almost alone, he concluded that he had been defeated, and was retreating; and at first resolved to seize him, take him a prisoner to Agra, and restore the old Emperor to liberty and empire. Ourungzebe saw his danger, and warded it off with his usual address. Going up boldly to Jysing, he exclaimed—"My friend and father, you are come in good time—Dara is lost; he is a wretched fugitive in the deserts, without money or troops; and I

* Ourungzebe left Mooltan, on his return on the 11th of October, 1658.

have left a handful of men under Meer Baba to pursue him, that I may go back and settle affairs at Agra. I am afraid that his deserters may be making disturbances at Lahore. My army is a good deal fatigued, and does not come on fast enough; yours is fresh; go, for God's sake and take care of that city and province. I make you governor of them." Saying this, he took from his own neck a string of pearls of immense value, and put them over the neck of the Rajah, saying—"Your conduct towards Soolee-man Shekoh has made me for ever your debtor: to such a friend I can entrust anything. But Dulele Khan is not with you! I shall be revenged upon him. Farewell, my best of friends!" Saying this he passed on, and the Rajah, with all his troops, followed in his train. Had he faltered, or hesitated a moment, he would have been a prisoner, and taken off to Agra by the Rajpoot cavalry, before any of his troops could have been brought up to his rescue.

Jeswunt Sing followed up with his new levies to support the cause of Dara, should he find him in a condition to make a stand against his brother; but discovering that he had been deserted by his armies, he tried to make a virtue of necessity, and joined Ourungzebe, who received him coldly. Ourungzebe entered Lahore on the 25th of October, and Delhi on the 21st of November. Here he halted three days, and celebrated his birthday, being in his fort. -first year. All the most able chiefs of the empire assisted at this ceremony; and among the rest Daood Khan, the last of the great men who deserted the cause of Dara. Finding him determined to persist in his resolution to take the road through Seinde to Gozerat, he gave up his cause in despair and offered his services to Ourungzebe, who, aware of his abilities, received him with great distinction.

Ameer Jumla, who had been sent to the government of Gozerat and Khaadeish, after his release from prison, was now, ordered to join Ourungzebe with all the troops, that he could

bring from these provinces, to assist in the campaign against Shoojah. Having reinforced the troops under Shaesta, at Agra, to enable him to meet any attempts on the part of young Sooleeman from the mountains; and sent his brother Moorad from Suleemgur a prisoner to Gwalior, Ourungzebe now set out, on the 3rd of December, to meet his brother Shoojah, who was advancing from Bengal at the head of an army far more powerful than he had yet had to encounter, because better organised and disciplined, and more united in feelings of attachment and fidelity to their chief. He took the Rajah Jeswunt Sing with him. [Not one man in the army of Shoojah could be prevailed upon to betray him, so much had he made himself beloved and respected in his government. Mahomed, the eldest son of Ourungzebe, had been appointed governor of Mooltan, and he was now ordered to join his father with four thousand horse from that province. Ourungzebe, to enable him and Meer Jumla to join him, moved down slowly between the Ganges and Jumna. Shoojah, having refreshed his army a few days at the city of Allahabad, which stands at the junction of these two rivers, moved up seventy miles to the town of Kujwa, where he took up an excellent position on the bank of a large reservoir of fine water, without wood or water beyond it for many miles, to afford shade or refreshment to an army.

This position he fortified strongly, placing his batteries on a rising ground; with entrenchments all round; and Ourungzebe was obliged to encamp several miles distant, from the want of water. Ameer Jumla, who had pushed on before his forces from Khandeish and Gozerat, and joined him a few days before, suggested a plan to draw Shoojah from his strong entrenchments by a feigned retreat. The armies were drawn out for action on the 6th of January, 1659; but after a few discharges of artillery both retired. During the following night Ameer Jumla got forty guns well placed, and chained to each other, so that no cavalry could charge

through them. He was all night employed in preparing this artillery, and encouraging the troops for the coming conflict ; while Ourungzebe remained all night fervently at prayers, imploring the Deity to grant him victory. Just before dawn, and while he was still at his prayers, horrible screams were heard from the rear, where the families of Mahomed Sultan and the chief nobility had been placed ; and it was found that Jeswunt Singh, with all the Rajpoot cavalry, twenty thousand in number, had treacherously attacked the rear of Ourungzebe's camp, and were cutting up men, women, and children, and carrying off all the valuables they could collect. Jeswunt Sing had the evening before sent word to Shoojah, that he should do this, in order to give him an opportunity to attack his brother, in the midst of the disorder. This he was prevented from doing by Ameer Jumla's judicious disposition of the artillery. Ten thousand men were sent back to defend the baggage and camp followers ; and many officers of distinction who were among them with their followers, either went off to the enemy or returned to their homes, for the defection of twenty thousand Rajpoot cavalry at such a critical time, and the disorder which followed, seemed to leave Ourungzebe no chance of victory, for none of Ameer Jumla's troops had yet come up from Gozerat. Not more than half his army remained when the rising sun saw their chief, with his usual serenity of countenance, marshalling them for action, and assuring them of divine protection ; and, above all, they saw Ameer Jumla by his side.

Shoojah had two sons in the action. Zyaoddeen, the eldest ; and Balund Akhtear, the youngest. Ourungzebe had his eldest son, Mahomed Sultan. The elephant on which Shoojah was mounted was the largest and boldest in the field ; and seeing Ourungzebe in the midst of his troops, he pushed the animal on upon him, in the hope of deciding the battle by bearing him down before him. Preceded by some squadrons of his guards,


he made his way up to the spot on which he stood, urging on his troops; but one of Ourungzebe's officers seeing his intention, pushed his elephant in between them. His elephant was overthrown in the shock, but he saved that of his master; and Shoojah's was so stunned that he stood trembling in every limb. One of Shoojah's officers now pushed his elephant upon Ourungzebe's, which in the shock fell upon his knees, and the girths of the castle giving way at the same time, it was nearly coming to the ground. None of the horses could be brought up to join in the strife, and Ourungzebe had put one foot out of the castle to descend, when Ameer Jumla, called out to him from a distance, with a stentorian voice, "Where is the Deccan now! Where is the Deccan now!" Meaning there is no retreat now. He drew back his foot, and sat down again; the girths, though loosened by the shock, held on. The adversary's elephant still pressed him, when the man who sat behind Ourungzebe shot the driver; but the animal still pressed on, till the driver of Ourungzebe's elephant managed to spring upon his neck, and force him off. His place was supplied by the man behind the prince, who now got over upon the neck of his elephant, and made him retire. The day seemed lost to Ourungzebe, when Alla Verdee Khan came up to Shoojah, who was unable to urge on his elephant after the shock in which he had been so much stunned, and entreated him earnestly not to sit there idle, as darkness was coming on, and the enemy must escape under it if he did not descend, mount his horse, and pursue them. He addressed him almost in the same words that Khuleeloolah' had addressed to the unfortunate Dara in the battle of the Chumbul—"Come down, in the name of God, from that unwieldy beast, and mount your horse. God has made you sovereign of India. Let us pursue the fugitives that Ourungzebe may not escape us!"* He had

* Alla Verdee Khan was no traitor. He thought this the only way to secure the person of Ourungzebe and the imperial crown for Shoojah; but after

no sooner descended from his elephant, in the dusk of the evening, than a report spread quickly through his army, that their chief had been slain. A panic seized the whole ; and they retreated with precipitation from the field, of which they had only a few minutes before been the acknowledged masters. The camp was given up to plunder, but Ourungzebe got one hundred and fourteen guns, the treasure chest and wardrobe, as his share of the spoils.

As soon as Jeswunt heard the unexpected news of Shoojah's army flying from the field, he set out towards Agra with the treasure. It had been his intention to make as good terms as he could with Shoojah, should he gain the victory ; but he now made the best of his way home through Agra. News had gone before him, that Ourungzebe had been entirely defeated ; and when he reached Agra it was supposed that he came to release Shah Jehan, and put him once more upon the throne. Shaesta Khan, the governor and uncle of the contending princes, attempted to take poison, knowing that he had no mercy to expect either from Shoojah or his father, should the defeat of Ourungzebe leave either of them his master. He was prevented by his wife ; and Jeswunt Sing's rapid retreat through Agra restored the drooping spirits of Ourungzebe's party at the capital.

the battle he was put to a cruel death by the prize he intended to serve for this supposed act of treason ! He had his tongue pulled out by the roots at Rajmahal. A son of his was put to death at the same time,



CHAPTER XLIV.

OURUNGZEBE IMPRISONS HIS ELDEST SON—SHOOJAH AND ALL HIS
FAMILY ARE DESTROYED.

SENDING Ameer Jumla and his own son Mahomed in pursuit of Shoojah, Ourungzebe returned to Agra ; and on the way the Rajah Jysing joined him. Ameer Jumla was promised the government of Bengal, with the reversion of it to his son ; and to the Pfince he said at parting—"Thou art the first born of my children ; and it is for thine own interest that thou fightest. Much hast thou done ; but all must count as nothing, unless Shoojah, the most powerful, and most able of all our enemies, is overcome !" He kept, as hostages for their fidelity, the only son of Jumla, ostensibly that he might look after his education, and the wife of his son Mahomed, the daughter of the king of Golconda, on the pretence that the wife of the heir apparent ought not to be again exposed as she had been at the battle of Kujwa. Shoojah had retreated to Mongheer, where he hoped to defend himself against Jumla. He was afraid to move the war further down, lest the Rajahs of Lower Bengal should take part with his brother against him ; but he soon found that Mahomed and Jumla, leaving part of their army, with the artillery and baggage, to come down by water, had passed his flanks with their light troops, and were actually attempting to cut off his retreat by rapid marches upon Rajmahal ! He now moved his army down with all possible haste, and reached that place before them.

In a few days all Shoojah's defences were beaten down by the enemy, and he was obliged to retreat across the river Ganges

at night. Jumla intended to follow in the morning, but the rains set in that night in torrents, and he and the young prince were obliged to take up their quarters for that season where they were. The prince had never forgiven Jumla for refusing to come to his father when he was sent for him, and coming afterwards when his younger brother, Mouzzim, was sent; and to the personal dislike arising from this cause, was now added a feeling of jealousy at the superior reliance which his father seemed to place in Jumla's abilities for the successful termination of hostilities against Shoojah. He became every day more haughty and insolent, and boasted continually of having given the crown to his father. Jumla, fully conscious of his own merits and abilities, and of the confidence reposed in him by Ourungzebe, found his conduct altogether unsupportable, and reported it to his father. He was severely reprimanded; and fearing that Jumla had orders to arrest him, he went over to his uncle, to whose eldest daughter he had in his boyhood been affianced. From their infancy, Mahomed and Aesha are said to have been fond of each other; and it was with great reluctance that he yielded to the injunctions of his father, to unite himself to the daughter of the king of Golconda, with a view to the inheritance of that kingdom. Shoojah and his daughter were aware of this, and the prince was received with much kindness; but the wary Ourungzebe, by letters addressed to the young prince himself, which he knew would be intercepted, soon caused it to be strongly suspected that he was there by his advice; and Shoojah refused, in consequence, to entrust him with any important command. Unable to remain where he knew he had become an object of suspicion, he returned to the camp of Jumla, who received him kindly, and promised to intercede with his father for his pardon. He was, however, by peremptory orders from Ourungzebe, sent off towards the capital with a strong escort; but on the way he was transferred to another, which took him, in a covered litter on an elephant, to the

fortress of Gwalior.* Bernier, who was at that time at the court of Delhi, in the capacity of physician to Danishmund Khan, states, that Ourungzebe, when he heard of his eldest son Mahomed being safely lodged in the fortress of Gwalior, observed to his second son, the young but sagacious Sultan Mouzzim, who had been married to the daughter of Rajah Roopsing—"To reign securely over such an empire as that of Hindoostan, a sovereign needs, my son, to be jealous even of his own shadow; and if you are not more discreet than your brother has been, the same fate which has now befallen him, must befall you, for you must know that your father, Ourungzebe, is not a man likely to suffer his sons to do to him what his father, Shah Jehan, did to his father, Jehangeer, and what you have seen done to your grandfather, Shah Jehan. If," adds the physician, "this son continue to deport himself as he hath hitherto done, Ourungzebe will never have any cause to suspect him, or to be in any way dissatisfied with him, for no slave can be more tractable than he is; and Ourungzebe himself never appeared more careless of worldly greatness, nor more entirely given up to religious devotion than he does! Yet I know men of great parts who believe that he is not at heart so pious and disinterested, and that he puts on the appearance of these virtues, like his father, out of policy, to serve his own ambitious purposes." In a struggle, similar to that which I now narrate, between the four sons of Ourungzebe, which took place forty years after, Prince Mouzzim attained the throne by the destruction of all other competitors. But his piety was nevertheless sincere, and he is considered to have been the most amiable of the brothers,

* In the fifteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign, Mahomed Sultan was taken out of prison, and married to the daughter of the unfortunate Moorad Bukh. He died six years after marriage. His intellects had been impaired by his captivity and he lived a secluded life.

Shoojah, after many unsuccessful battles, was driven from place to place along the line of the Ganges by Jumla, whose armies were reinforced by all the means which Ourungzebe could spare from time to time as he mastered Dara, and got young Sooleeman into his power; and they kept up the pursuit with great activity and skill on both sides of that great river. On reaching the city of Dacca, he sent off his eldest son, the Sultan Zeenoddeen, to the Rajah of Aracan, to request that he would afford him and his family an asylum in his dominions till the season should be favourable for him to embark with them for Aracan, whence he intended to proceed to Persia or Turkey. The young prince was well received at Aracan, and promised all that his father asked. He received orders from the Rajah to take what vessels he required for his father's conveyance from Chittagong, a place then within the territories of this Rajah, and occupied exclusively by a colony of christian pirates, from Portugal, Holland and other parts of Europe, who resided here under his protection, and ravaged all the coast of Bengal and Coromandel, taking the ships and selling the crews as slaves to him and other chiefs along the Aracan coast. In these vessels Shoojah embarked with his wife three sons, and three daughters, and a few faithful followers. He took all his most valuable property with him; and it is said that the pirates designedly sank one vessel, containing money and other valuables not likely to suffer from the water, knowing that the prince would be afraid to remain long enough to recover it, while so closely pursued by the enemy; and that they should be able to secure it for themselves on their return.

His force, after his departure, went over to Jumla, who was glad to receive them all on favourable terms, that they might not disperse, and create disorders in the province for whose good government he was in future to be alone responsible. Shoojah and his family were hospitably received in Aracan, and allowed to remain there in security, though Jumla often attempted by large

promises to prevail upon the Rajah to deliver them into his hands. When the season for sailing to Arabia arrived, Shoojah demanded from the Rajah the ship he had promised to provide them with for the passage ; but he was put off from day to day, and month to month, with vain promises, till the season had passed away ; and it became evident, that the Rajah had no intention to suffer them to depart from his coast.* He had determined to possess himself of the treasures of which Shoojah and his family were in the habit of making too ostentatious a display. The Rajah complained at last that Shoojah had never honoured his palace with a visit. It was not usual for the sons of the Emperors to return the visits of men of his rank ; and Shoojah was, besides, afraid to entrust himself so entirely to the power of this chief. It was suspected, that he had a design to get hold of him quietly, make him over to Ameer Jumla, destroy his family, and possess himself of all his treasures. Shoojah, therefore, sent his eldest son to pay his respects to the Rajah, and request him to excuse his father's not coming, on the plea of indisposition, and urge the fulfilment of his promise to provide them with a ship for their passage to Arabia. Young prince ostentatiously scattered gold and silver coin among the crowd assembled round the Rajah's palace, and along the road leading to it. Coming before the Rajah, he placed before him presents of great value in gold brocades, and the rarest and richest embroideries of the east, and magnificent gold ornaments set with precious stones. All these things are supposed to have kindled the avidity of the chief, who promised to have the ship prepared forthwith for their conveyance ; but took good care that none should be forthcoming.

Five days after the visit of the prince, his father is said to have received a message from the Rajah, demanding from him one

* Travernier says, "That Shoojah here married one of the daughters of the Rajah, and had a son by her." Para. 2, Book ii. I don't find this mentioned in any other author, either native or European.

of his daughters as a wife. This demand Shoojah rejected with indignation ; and in despair of ever being able otherwise to get out of the power of the Rajah, he formed the resolution to destroy him and all his family, and get himself declared king of Aracan, About three hundred of his old companions in arms had followed him to Aracan ; and they now formed his guards. A great many Mahomedans from Bengal had got into the service of the Rajah, and still more had been captured by the Christian pirates of Chittagong, and sold as slaves. All these people were found ready to join in the enterprise ; and everything being prepared, the day was fixed for carrying it into effect. Sultan Shoojah and his sons were in person to have led the guards, and all the Mahomedans that should be found ready to join them, at the palace, where they were to have put the Rajah and all his family to the sword. The day before this was to have been done, however, the plot was discovered and made known to the Rajah. Shoojah with his family and followers attempted to escape through the forests to Pegu, as it was now the cold season, when no danger was to be apprehended from sickness in passing such dense, and at the other seasons deadly jungles ; but they were the same day pursued by all the troops the Rajah could collect. They came up with them in a narrow defile on the 7th February, 1660, and attacked them on all sides. Shoojah and his followers fought bravely, and slew, a great many of the enemy ; but they were at last overpowered by numbers. All his followers were killed or disabled ; and his eldest son, Zeenoddeen, was knocked down senseless by a large stone thrown upon him from the hill above. Sultan Shoojah was himself knocked down in the same manner ; but a faithful eunuch who attended him, raised him from the ground in his arms, bound up his head in the handkerchief, and enabled him to climb to the summit of the precipice, where he hoped still to rally some few of his followers ; but they had all been overpowered and taken, with his wife and his children.

One female attendant and the eunuch were the only persons who reached the summit of the hill with him. Darkness came on, they plunged into the thickest of the forest, and were never after seen! The sword and dagger of the prince were afterwards found in the forest, and it is supposed that all three were destroyed by wild beasts. The chief of the Dutch factory, in a letter which Bernier himself saw, declared, that the body of the prince had been found among the slain; and this was confirmed to Bernier by some who were in the action; but others, who were there also, and whose testimony he seems to have valued more, declared that he escaped from the action in the manner above related, and was never afterwards seen.

His wife and children were taken back to Aracan, where they were all thrown into prison, and treated with great harshness, till the eldest daughter consented to become the wife of the Rajah, when they were indulged with more liberty. Zeenoddeen, however, managed to get around him some desperate characters of his own faith, who prevailed upon the Mahomedans of the country to join them in another conspiracy. On the very day the attack was to have been made on the palace, one of the conspirators, in a fit of intoxication, fancying himself all-sufficient for the purpose, fell to some hours before the signal was to have been given. The guards got ready, and the conspirators were all secured before they could begin to act in concert. The Rajah became so exasperated by this second attempt, that he determined to guard against all the dangers from the same source by exterminating the whole family save the daughter he had married. Zeenoddeen and his two young brothers had their heads cut off with rude axes; and the widow of Shoojah, with her two young daughters, were mured up in walls of masonry, where they perished miserably of hunger.* For many years after, the

* Tavernier says, "That the daughter who had been married to the Rajah himself, was included in the general massacre, though pregnant at the time." Bernier says she was spared, and he is perhaps the better authority.

capital of Delhi was often agitated with rumours of Shoojah's being still alive. At one time he was in strong force with the kings of Golconda and Beejapore, ready to march towards Delhi. At another time, he had been seen passing the coast of Malabar, in sight of Soorat, with two ships bearing the red flag of Pegu, or Siam. At another, he had been seen at the court of Persia on his return from Constantinople; and was now actually marching at the head of an immense army through Candahar to Cabool. Ourungzebe used facetiously to say. "That his good brother the Sultan Shoojah had become the most indefatigable of pilgrims!"



CHAPTER XLV.

 SECOND DEFEAT AND DEATH OF DARA, AND IMPRISONMENT OF
HIS TWO SONS.

DARA, after Ourungzebe had given up the pursuit on the Indus at Mooltan, passed down the left bank of that river to the strong fortress of Bukur, which lies on a small island in the midst of the stream. This fortress he confided to his faithful follower the eunuch, and he left, with him for its defence a good body of Mahomedan infantry, with a great many artillerymen and engineers. These men he entirely confided in, and they deserved his confidence. It had been his undisguised intention to raise Europeans when he attained the throne to the highest station among the aristocracy, which in India has always been one exclusively of office; and the knowledge of this intention tended perhaps more than anything else to his ruin. It gave, in the estimation of all bigoted Mahomedans, a colour of truth to his brother's pretence of taking up arms merely in defence of the religion of Mahomed, which had become endangered by Dara's obvious preference of the Hindoos and Christians.* Men always like to be persuaded, that in serving themselves in the way they

* Dara had written a book trying to reconcile the Mahomedan with the Hindoo faith, in the hope of thereby making the Mussulmans less intolerant. This book he called the union of the two oceans. The learned Abdool Fazul had before him, in the reign of Akbar, tried in the same manner to show that the Hindoo religion was in reality a pure system of Deism.

like best, they are serving their God in the way most pleasing to him, and that the object most suitable to their interests and inclinations, is the one most consonant to his will : this sanctifies all manner of means in the pursuit, and relieves the mind from all disagreeable scruples in the use of the very worst and from much of the fear and uneasiness it would otherwise suffer in its progress towards the attainment. In this fortress of Bukur, he deposited the greater part of his treasure, and having rested and refreshed his family and followers a few days, he set out for Tatta, another fortress situated on the right bank of the river Indus. He was still closely pursued by a division of the army under Bahadur Khan ; and obliged to move from Tatta towards Ahmedabad, the capital of Gozerat. He had still about him two thousand faithful followers when the enemy gave up the pursuit at Tat^ta. Some returned to the seige of Bukur ; while the others, under peremptory orders from Ourungzebe, hastened back to reinforce the army which was about to march towards Bengal under his personal command against his brother the Sultan Shoojah. *

Dará, with all that still remained faithful to him in his adversities, passed from Tatta over a most inhospitable country with almost incredible speed ; and at last reached Ahmedabad. The governor of this city was Sha^h Newaz Khan, who had one daughter married to Ourungzebe, a second to Shoojah, and a third to Moorad, his brothers ; Moorad had left his wife with her father when he set out on his enterprise against Dará, and confided the government of the province of Gozerat and that of its capital to him. They had heard of the imprisonment of this prince ; and in the hope that it might be the means of his release, his wife now prevailed upon her father to espouse the cause of the unfortunate Dará, who showed him letters that he had received from the Rajah Jeswant Sing, and other powerful, chiefs, assuring him that he had only to show himself once more at the head of a well-organized force, to have round him all the

Hindoo chiefs, who had nothing to hope from the intolerant bigotry of his brother. Dara got ten lacks of rupees from Shah Newaz.Khan. He seized upon the commercial city of Soorat, and got a further supply, and from the militia of the country whom Shah Newaz brought over to his interest, he collected together twenty thousand horse. When Ourungzebe heard that his brother Dara had reached Ahmedabad in safety, he was extremely surprised and embarrassed; but deeming the case of Shoojah, who had by this time passed Allahabad on his way to the capital, more pressing, he marched against him with all his available forces first, and crushed him as above related. Jeswunt Sing had been in correspondence with Dara; and in the action with the other two contending brothers at Kujwa, he did all he could to cause the ruin of Ourungzebe, sure of a large immediate booty, and hardly less so of being able to give Dara the victory over the vanquished of the two—if he could, as he retired through Agra, rescue from prison the old Emperor Shah Jehan, and put him at the head of his army.

In his letters he urged Dara to hasten his march at the head of the best force he could muster, that they might be ready to meet his rival, the victor, before he could recover from the loss he must sustain in the conflict with the other. Ourungzebe's unexpected victory, and sudden movement upon Agra after Jeswunt Sing, disconcerted the plans of this chief for the release of the Emperor; and he was obliged to retreat precipitately upon his own capital. He had gone out several marches to meet Dara, when he received letters from his friend Jysing, written at the desire of Ourungzebe, urging him not to risk the welfare and existence of his family in the support of a ruined cause; but to take advantage of the present occasion, to secure the pardon of the victor for all his past transgressions. "By deserting Dara," said Jysing, "and joining me in support of the cause of Ourungzebe, which, it is clear from so many manifest interpositions, has been

adopted by Providence,* you will not only save your own house from impending ruin, but avert ruin from all the Hindoo principalities in the country; for if many of these princes, under the influence of your example, should flock round the standard of Dara, Ourungzebe will become exasperated, and wreak his vengeance upon us all. If, on the contrary, you quit the cause of the man whom Providence has so manifestly forsaken, Ourungzebe promises to forgive you all that has passed, permit you freely to enjoy your large estates, and all the plunder you obtained from his camp at Kujwa; and to confer upon you the government of Gozerat, which, lying close upon your own hereditary dominions, cannot fail to be as agreeable as honourable to you—and for the fulfilment of this promise, I most solemnly pledge myself. You have only to remain neutral in the approaching contest, for the Emperor, (for so Ourungzebe was now styled,) has no wish to employ your arms against his brother.” Jeswunt Singh yielded to these persuasions, and retired just as Dara, relying entirely upon his cordial support and co-operation, advanced from Gozerat towards Delhi with Shah Newaz Khan, and all the troops he had been able to collect.

Dara had made thirty-five marches from Ahmedabad, and was only thirty miles from Joudpore, the capital of Jeswunt Sing, when he heard of his defection; and it was now too late to retrace his steps with any chance of keeping his army together and in spirits. He sent his young son, Sipcher Shekoh, to Jeswunt Sing to urge him on; but in vain. He had before sent their common friend Dooleechand, a very able diplomatist. Jeswunt promised everything, but it was clear that he intended to do nothing. The hot weather was about to set in; and the roads over which he would

* Shah Jehan is reported to have said about this time, “I wished Dara to succeed me—the army Shoojah—the people Moorād; but the Deity seems to have wished Qurungzebe.”

have to pass in his retreat, would be found devoid of water, while they had, by his advance, been exhausted of supplies of provisions. These roads passed through the territories of the Rajpoot chiefs, who had now so basely deserted him; and they would not fail to take advantage of his retreat before the armies of his brother, who was advancing rapidly from the capital, and harass him with continual attacks for the sake of plunder. To attempt to retreat under so many disadvantages would be to abandon himself to inevitable ruin—to advance were at least to put himself in the way of profiting by any accident that the chances of war might produce in his favour. "He had once been near his brother in battle; might not providence place him near him again and give him the opportunity to avenge all his own and his father's wrongs; and to efface from his mind the bitter recollection of his errors and follies at Samongur?" He determined to continue his march upon Delhi; but on reaching Ajmere he intrenched himself in a strong position between two hills, in the beginning of March, 1659.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Ourungzebe to carry his position. At last Dara is said to have tried to contend with Ourungzebe at his own game, and to have invited Jysing to join him. This chief promised to quit the camp at a certain hour, and make off with all his followers to his lines, if he would have the gates open to receive them; that they might not suffer from the artillery of Ourungzebe, which would be sure to play upon his rear.* At the same time Jysing's cavalry were seen making at full speed for the lines with the artillery of Ourungzebe playing upon them from behind, and the whole camp

* The time appointed was during an attack that was about to be made by some Rajpoot infantry under Rajah Roopsing, supported by the Moguls, upon the Pohkur Puharee hill, which overlooked Dara's position. The attack was made with great gallantry, and the hill carried with great loss on both sides, on the 17th March 1659.

apparently in pursuit of the fugitives. The gates were thrown open, and the prince and his cavalry received with shouts of joy ! They had, however, no sooner got inside the entrenchments than they turned their swords upon the garrison ; and it was now discovered, that the artillery and all the rest of Ourungzebe's troops, which had seemed to be attacking the fugitives in the rear, were in reality following up to support their assault, and passing in through the gates, of which they had made themselves master. Dara's troops were thrown into great confusion ; and he would himself have been taken prisoner, had not Jysing advised him to fly from the field of battle with his wife and family, leaving all his baggage to divert the enemy from pursuit. It was not from any regard for Dara that he gave this advice, for he still remembered with feelings of implacable resentment, that Dara had once called him a *music-master* ; but he knew, that if he laid violent hands upon the person of the prince, it would be one day remembered to his disadvantage, however it might for a time please and serve the purpose of the new Emperor. . Shah Newaz Khan was killed in the action.*

Dara left the field with his wife, daughter, and youngest son, Sipaher Shekoh, followed by about two thousand soldiers, who resolved still to adhere to his fortunes. Without a tent or accommodations of any kind, he passed with his family and this small band of faithful followers, in the hottest season of the year, through the hottest country in the world, among people now everywhere hostile to him. The wild tribes, who occupy the hilly and woody tract by which his road was intersected, and live by plunder, pressed upon his flanks and rear, and robbed and

* Kafee Khan, who is a devoted admirer of Ourungzebe, and who hardly ever mentions Dara without some opprobrious epithet, makes no mention of the simultaneous attack of Jysing, or the attempt of Dara to corrupt him. Some other narrators of these events are equally silent upon this point.

murdered every person who ventured either by night or by day to go aside a few paces only from the main body ; for the last few stages of this disastrous retreat, the roads were lined with the dead bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered by these savages, or had perished from hunger, thirst or fatigue ; and with the carcases of elephants, camels, bullocks, and horses, which had sunk under the labour and privations of such a march at such a season of the year. Three stages from Ahmedabad, he met the French physician Bernier, travelling from Surat to Delhi in a carriage drawn by three large bullocks ; and requested him to attend him to that city, as he had no medical person with him, and his family and followers stood much in need of one.

On reaching the vicinity of Ahmedabad, the prince lodged in a miserable open caravanserai ; and being still pressed by the savage murderers of the woods called Bheels, he made Bernier lodge in the same court with his family, and bring in his carriage, lest this should be taken from him, and he be killed in attempting to defend it. His wife, Nadira, who was the daughter of Purwez, the eldest brother of the Emperor Shan Jehan, and his daughter Juhanzebe, who had both been born and bred with tender care in the imperial palace, were now concealed behind a wretched screen tied to one of the wheels of Bernier's carriage. Dara sent word to the governor, to whom he had confided the city and fortress of Ahmedabad during the absence of Shah Nowaz Khan, that he should enter the city early the next morning, and hoped soon to be in condition again to take the field against his brother. This man had during his absence, been brought over to the interests of Ourungzebe ; and he sent back to say, that if he attempted to enter the city he would find the gates shut, and the people armed against him. This message was received as the day began to dawn ; and when it was communicated to the ladies, their cries and sobs, and those of their female attendants, brought tears into the eyes of the French physician, and those of all the

rest who were near enough to hear them.

“And now behold,” says this physician, “all was in an unspeakable confusion. Every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become with him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldier ! Ho seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What counsel ? Whither can he go ? He must begone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in by this small accident I am going to mention. Of these great oxen of Gozerat, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out, for we had been forced to march for three days together almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust. Whatever Dara could say or commend, whether he alleged it was for himself or for one of the ladies who had been hurt, or for me, he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horse, so that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there ! I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied by four or five hundred cavaliers at most, and with two elephants that were said to be laden with gold and silver.”

Dara passed into Kutch, where he was at first received with hospitality by the Rajah ; but this chief was soon brought over to the interest of Ourungzebe by letters from Jysing ; and Dara, perceiving the altered tone of his voice towards him, set out for the fortress of Bukur, which, under his faithful friend the eunuch, still held out against the army under Bahadur Khan. In his passage through the dreary sandy deserts that lay between Kutch and Bukur, he lost the greater part of his remaining followers and domestics ; and in despair of being able to raise the siege, or render any assistance to the besieged, he proposed to strike off at once through the Bholan Pass and Candahar to Persia ; but his wife, still proud in her adversity, said “that she would rather perish by poison than run the risk of being with her daughter,

made the slaves of the *heretical* sovereign of Persia.”*

Dara then resolved to seek assistance from Jehan Khan, a Mahomedan chief of a small territory, in his way to Bukur, whose life he had twice saved. He had been twice sentenced to death for treason and rebellion, and pardoned by the Emperor at the earnest solicitation of Dara, who, with his usual want of discrimination, had conceived a liking for him. He resolved to ask his aid to raise the siege of Bukur, from which he thought he should be able to take his treasure and troops—pass through Candabar into Cabool, and joined by Mohubbut, the governor of that province, and supported by the Affghans and Uzbecks, be once more able to meet his brother in the field. His wife strongly urged him to attempt the passage to Cabool, without trusting to the gratitude of a convicted rebel and traitor, or attempting to raise the siege of Bukur, arguing that such an attempt, with the means at his command could, be of no advantage whatever to the besieged, while it would deprive him of the only chance now left him of escape; that if he crossed the Indus, left Bukur to the right, and passed into Candahar, he might be sure that Bahadur Khan, who, by the sagacity and vigilance of the eunuch, was every day alarmed with the reports of the large force he was bringing up to raise the siege, would be afraid to move himself, or detach any part of his force after them. Dara, however, determined to confide in the gratitude of this traitor, and proceeded to

* The Persians are all of the sect of Aloo, or Sheeas. The imperial family of Delhi are of the sect of Osman, or Sonnees. Each thinks the other destined to the infernal regions. We sometimes see an European gentleman, who is married to a Mahomedan lady, bargain that the daughters shall all become Mahomedans, that they may marry respectable Mahomedans, and the sons all Christians—the mother of course satisfied that she is sending her sons, and the father that he is sending his daughters, to the same quarters. Protestants and Roman Catholics often, I fear, make the same bargains with the same persuasions.

the capital of Jehan Khan, who received him with great demonstrations of joy and gratitude, supposing that he had still a strong force coming up in his rear.

When he found that he had not more than two or three hundred followers, he determined to make the most of the occasion—seize upon all the treasures and valuables he had left, and make him over to the force before Bukur. Having collected all the armed men he could, he secured Dara, threw him into prison, and seized upon his property, and the jewels of his wife and daughter.* Dara's wife, Nadira, rather than be exposed to the indignities which she now thought inevitable, took the poison, which she always carried about her, and died in the arms of her husband.† Dara and his young son were bound in fetters, and carried to Bukur on the back of an elephant, while his daughter was conveyed in a litter. He was escorted by the traitor, Jehan Khan, who was commanded by Bahadur Khan to take him on to Delhi. The sequel of poor Dara's history cannot be better told than by Bernier, who was at Delhi, on the staff of one of the chiefs, Danishmund Khan, when the prince arrived.

“When he was at the gates of Delhi, it was deliberated by Ourungzebe, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the city, or be carried thence direct to Gwalior. Many did advise that was by no means to be done; that some disorder might arise; that some might come to save him; and besides that, it would be a great dishonour to the family royal. Others main-

* Tavernier says that young Sipeher Shekoh was outside the house when seized, and that he killed three men with his bow and arrows before he was secured.

† Nadira was the daughter of Parwez, the elder brother of Shah Jehan. Her daughter was adopted by Jehanara, and ten years after married to Ourungzebe's son, Mahomed Azum. She lived to see him hunted down thirty years after, on the death of Ourungzebe, in the same manner that her father had been. Her name was Juhun Zebe, ornament of the world.

tained the contrary, *viz.*, that it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the town to astonish the world, and to show the absolute power of Ourungzebe, and to disabuse the people, that might still doubt whether it were himself, as, indeed, many noblemen did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an elephant, his son, Sipeher Shekoh, at his side; and behind him was placed Bahadur Khan, as an executioner.* This was none of those brave elephants of Ceylon or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies, very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun. It was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open! There was no more seen about him that necklace of big pearls which those princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbans and vests embroidered. All his dress was a vest of coarse linen, all dirty, and a turban of the same, with a wretched scarf of a Kashmere over his head, like a varlet; his son, Sipeher Shekoh, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made to enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest merchant streets, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it were he.

"As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonished at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town, and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded; neither was I ignorant that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of Ourungzebe, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his son, Sultan Mahomed, and his brother, Moorad Buksh. I was well prepared for it, and with a good horse, and two good men, I went, together with two others

* This was not the Bahadur Khan that commanded the troops against Bukur.

of my friends, to place myself in the greatest street where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the Faqueers, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous Jehan Khan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud cries and lamentations, invectives, and curses, heaped upon Jehan Khan. In a word, men and women, great and small, (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the Indians,) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that dared stir to rescue him! Now, after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called Hydrabad.

“They were not wanting to tell Ourungzebe how the people at this sight had lamented Dara, and cursed the Pethan that had delivered him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death; as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he should indeed be carried to Gwalior, as had been concluded before, or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death without more ado? Some were of opinion that he should go to Gwalior with a strong guard, and that would be enough; Danishmund Khan, though Dara’s old enemy, insisting much upon that. But Roshunara Begum, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of her’s, pushed Ourungzebe to make him away, without running the danger there was of sending him to Gwalior, as also did all his old enemies, Khuleeloolah Khan, and Shaesta Khan, and especially a certain flatterer, a physician, who had fled out of Persia, first called Hakim Daood, and afterwards, being become a great noble, named Tukurroo Khan. This villain boldly rose up in full assembly, and cried out that ‘it was expedient for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately, and that the rather because he was no *true Mussulman*; that long since he had

turned unbeliever, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head." Of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart, for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. But Ourungzebe, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to death; and that Sipeher Shekoh, his son, should be sent to Gwalior.

"The charge of this great tragical execution was given to a certain slave, called Nazir,* that had been bred by Shah Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill-treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied by three or four parricides more, went to Dara, who was then himself dressing some lentils with Sipeher Shekoh his son. He no sooner saw Nazir, than he cried out to Sipeher Shekoh, 'My dear son, behold those that come to kill us!' laying hold at the same time, of the small knife, which was all the arms now left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon Sipeher Shekoh, the others upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, till Nazir cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to Ourungzebe, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which, when brought, he wiped it off with a handkerchief; and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the head of Dara, he *fell a weeping*, and said these words, 'Ah bed bukht! Oh unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Hoomaon, his great-grandfather.'"

"At night the daughter of Dara was brought into the seraglio, and afterwards sent to Shah Jehan and Jehanara Begum, who asked her of Ourungzebe.† (Concerning Dara's wife,

* What became of this wretch Nazir, Bernier could never discover. He appears to have been quietly made away with.

† Travernier says that the daughter of Dara was afterwards made over to Ourungzebe by Shah Jehan. (Part II. book ii.) She was adopted by Jehanara Begum, and married to Mahomed Azum, as above stated.

she had ended her days before at Lahore, she had poisoned herself, foreseeing the extremities which she was falling into, together with her husband. Sipeher Shekoh was sent to Gwalior.* And after a few days Jehan Khan was sent for to come before Ourungzebe in the assembly. To him were given some presents, and so he was sent away; but being near his lands, he was rewarded according to his deserts, being murdered in a wood. This barbarous man, not knowing, or not considering, that if kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later avenge them!"

No place could be more resolutely defended than Bukur was. Dara was only a few stages from it when he resolved to throw himself upon the protection of Jehan Khan. It was the opinion of all the Europeans in the place, that had he gone he would have entered the fortress without molestation, and raised the siege; to such a state of despair, and dread of his approach, had the besiegers been reduced by the skill and vigilance of the governor. Orders for the surrender of this fortress were extorted from Dara while a prisoner, and the governor surrendered it on condition that the garrison should be permitted to proceed to their homes with their property unmolested. He proceeded to Lahore, and there he and all his faithful followers were treacherously murdered, and cut to pieces by the governor, Khuleeloolah Khan, (the same who had betrayed Dara in the battle of Samongur,) by orders, it was said, from Ourungzebe, who had heard that they intended to march to Gwalior and rescue the young sipeher Shekoh from prison. The Europeans had all gone to Delhi, to seek service at the court of the new Emperor.

Jysing now wrote pressing letters to the Rajah of Samongur, urging him to surrender up the eldest son of Dara. Many of the

* Sipeher Shekoh was taken out of prison in the fifteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign; and in the sixteenth of his reign, was married to Ourungzebe's daughter Zebonnissa.

neighbouring chiefs were at the same time invited to make war upon him by the promise of a grant of his dominions by the Emperor. At last he was persuaded to give him up for a grant of the Dehra Doon, or the valley which lies between the little Sewalik range of hills and the great chain of the Himmalah mountains, with the river Ganges flowing across it at the eastern, and the river Jumna, seventy miles distant, at the western extremity. Sooleeman Shekoh got intimation of this bargain, and attempted to make his escape across the snowy range into Thibet, but was closely pursued by the son of the Rajah, taken, and made over to emissaries from Delhi.* On reaching the capital, he was confined in the small fortress of Suleemgur, where Moorad had remained imprisoned till sent to Gwalior. Ourungzebe commanded that he should be brought before him in open court, before all the assembled nobles, that no person might hereafter pretend that the real prince had not been secured. At the gate leading to the great hall of audience, the fetters which were of silver gilt, were removed from his feet; but his handcuffs, of the same material, were left on.†

"When this proper young man," says the same physician, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of the nobles that could not hold their tears; and, as I was, informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. Ourungzebe, who appeared himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him and to comfort him, telling him that he should fear nothing,

* Tavernier says all his followers were killed in defending him, and that he himself killed nine of the assailants before he was taken. Bernier makes no mention of it.

† Prethoo Sing was the name of the hill Zemindar, of Samonugur, who seized Sooleeman Shekoh, and he was escorted to Delhi by his son Ram Sing. He got the title of Raja for this service, and a gift of the valley of the Dehra Doon, which the family held up to the beginning of this century, when it was taken from them by the Goikhas, from whom we took it in 1815.

that no hurt should be done to him ; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage ; that he had caused his father to be put to death for no other reason than that he was turned *unbeliever*, and a man *without religion* ! Whereupon this young prince returned to him the salaam, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, to his head, after the custom of the country ; and told him with resolution enough, that if he were to drink the *poust*, he entreated him, that he might die presently, being very willing to submit to his fate. But Ourungzebe promised him faithfully, that he should not drink of it ; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thought about it. This being said, he once more repeated the salaam ; and after they had asked him several questions, in the name of Ourungzebe ; touching that elephant which was charged with rupees of gold, taken from him when he went to Sureenugur, he was sent to Gwalior to the rest. This *poust* is nothing else but poppy expressed and infused a night in water. And it is that potion which those that are kept at Gwalior are commonly made to drink—I mean those princes whose heads they think it not fit to cut off. This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drunk a great cupful of it ; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die insensibly, they losing little by little their understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means it is said that Sipeher Shekoh, Moorad Buksh, and Sooleeman Shekoh, were despatched.”

This prince was sent to Gwalior on the 30th of January 1661. It is inside the entrance door of the apartment where Ourungzebe sat while he passed the sentence upon his brother Dara, his own son Mahomed, and his nephews Sooleeman and Sipeher Shekoh, that his father, Shah Jehan, inscribed in black letters upon a slab of alabaster, “ If there is a paradise on earth—it is this—it is

this ! " Afraid to leave Moorad Buksh to die by the slow operation of the *poust*, a widow was made to present a petition to Ourungzebe, charging him with having, while in power, put her husband to death without trial ; and claiming his execution by the Mahomedan law of retaliation ! The case was referred to the chief justice, who denied her right, or disbelieved the ground of it. He was made to resign his office, and another more tractable was appointed. Moorad was sentenced to death, and executed in the fortress of Gwalior, where his tomb now stands by the side of that of his nephew." " I mind not being put to death," said he, " for that only shortens the duration of my misery here ; but it is hard to be thus sent out of the world with a blighted reputation."

Ten years after this, Dara's daughter, Jehanzebe was married to Ourungzebe's third son, Mahomed Azum, with great pomp. Fifteen years after the death of Dara, Sipeher Shekoh, his youngest son, and Mahomed Sultan, Ourungzebe's eldest son, were brought from Gwalior, and confined in the fort of Suleemgur. Mahomed Sultan was united in marriage to the daughter of Moorad Buksh, who got a dowry of ten lacks of rupees. Sipeher Shekoh was united to a daughter of Ourungzebe, who got a dowry of four lacks of rupees. Sultan Eezud Buksh was taken from Gwalior at the same time, and married to another of the Emperor Ourungzebe's daughters. Mahomed Sultan got a pension of twelve thousand rupees a year, Sipeher Shekoh one of six thousand, and Eezud Buksh one of four thousand a year. They were never, I believe, let out of confinement.

Ourungzebe was not unmindful of the assistant he had received from his sister Roshunara, who was long treated with high honour in her splendid seclusion, but never suffered to have anything to say or do in public affairs.* Long before her death

* She died in the fourteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign, six years after her father, who died in the eighth.

he became alienated from her on account of her ill-disguised amours. The princess Jehanara shared the captivity of her father, and remained with him till his death. During her seclusion with her father her time was chiefly occupied in writing the lives of the celebrated saints of the valley of Cashmere; and on his death, in 1666, she became reconciled to her brother Ourungzebe, who restored to her all the estates and governments she had enjoyed under her father, yielding a revenue of more than one million pounds sterling a year, and honoured her with the title of *Shah Begum*, or sovereign princess. At the first visit her brother paid her after their father's death, he found, spread out to be presented to him, all those jewels of immense value, which he had tried in vain to get from her and his father during his lifetime. "These," said she, "are all now yours, as the first surviving representative of the house of Tamerlane. What has made you so we must now try, if possible, to forget!"

"The truth is, says Tavernier, "she is a woman of prodigious parts, able herself to govern the whole empire; and had her father and her brother Dara taken her counsel at the beginning of the war, Ourungzebe had certainly never been king."

This Ourungzebe knew; and being satisfied now that she felt her interest identified with his own, he paid her all honour, and often consulted her upon public affairs.

When Ourungzebe felt himself secure in his imperial throne, by the death or imprisonment, in the fortress of Gwalior, of all his brothers and their sons, he sent his second son, the Sultan Mouzzim, to his government of the Deccan, with limited powers and resources. Mohubbut received the government of Gozerat ostensibly, as a reward for his fidelity to his benefactor, Shah Jehan, but in reality for some valuable presents of Persian rarities he made to Roshunara, ere her brother had thought her services to him sufficiently repaid. Shaesta Khan was made governor and commander-in-chief, first in the Dacca, and after-

wards in Bengal. Meer Khan got the government of Cabool, and Khuleeloolah Khan that of Lahore; Meer Baba that of Allahabad, and Lushkur Khan that of Behar. Danishmund Khan was made governor of Delhi, and Deeanut Khan of Cashmere. Nijabut Khan, who had done great service in the battles of Samongur and Kujwa, became everbearing, and got no government in consequence. Jeswunt Sing was sent to the Deccan as commandant of some forces under Shaesta Khan; but justly suspected of being in league with the enemy, the celebrated Sewajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, in his daring attack upon Shaesta Khan, he was recalled, and sent to his own estate in disgrace. Jysing brought Sewajee under subjection; and died at Berhampore, in the Deccan, leaving his large estates to his eldest son.

CHAPTER XLVI.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF AMEER JUMLA.

AMEER JUMLA succeeded the Sultan Shoojah in the government of Bengal, which he wished to form into an independent kingdom for himself. As a preparatory step, he entreated the Emperor to allow his wife and children to repair to him, that he might enjoy the pleasure of their society in his old age; Ourung-zobe saw through his designs; and, to prevent any further attempt to carry them into execution, and at the same time to keep on good terms with so valuable a friend and servant, he sent him his wife and daughters, but retained at court his only son, in whom he knew Jumla rested all his hopes of founding a dynasty. He appointed Jumla himself to the dignity of Ameer-ul Omura, the highest in the state next his own, with permission to hold the distant viceroyalty of Bengal; and he made his son paymaster general, the third office in the state, but one that made it imperative on the holder to reside at the imperial court. Jumla saw the Emperor's object in these appointments; and at his suggestion undertook the conquest of Assam, as a preliminary step to that of China.

His armies, elate with their recent victories and conquests, found no difficulty, under such a leader, in the conquest of this country. They penetrated to the capital, Goorgon, and took it; but being obliged to canton during the season of the rains at Muthurapore, in the midst of plains covered with water, a great part of the army perished from disease; and the enemy, recovering

spirit, drove in all the detachments, and reoccupied the country. They were driven back to their mountains with great slaughter, when Ameer Jumla again took the field in December; and on the 17th of January, 1662, a peace was concluded at the foot of the Namroot mountains. A part of the stipulated tribute or ransom * was paid in advance, and hostages were given for the payment of the balance.†

On the 22nd of January, 1662, Ameer Jumla set out with the remnants of his army on his return; and on the 3rd of February he reached Lukhoopore. He passed through Kujalee and Pandoo, near Gonputlee, whence he detached a force, under Rusheed Khan, to Kamroop; and another, under Asker Khan to Kooch Behar; and proceeded towards Khizerpore. He had been long ill, and within four miles of that place he died, on the 12th of April 1662. The Emperor, in addressing his son at the first public audience, after the event had been announced, said—“You, Mahomed Ameen Khan, have lost an excellent father; and I the greatest, but, at the same time, the most dangerous friend I ever had. Be assured that you and your sisters shall always find in me a father.” They did so: he continued him in his office, augmented his pension, and left them the entire disposal of all their father’s immense wealth. With this wealth they retired to the district of Massulipatam, on the Coromandel coast, in the kingdom of Golconda, where the son lived to a good old age much respected.

* The Rajah of Asham, or Assam, was Jydhuj Sing, and the ostensible cause of the invasion was his having marched an army into the territory of Kamroop, a dependency of the empire. The advance of tribute amounted to twenty thousand tolas of gold, one hundred and eight thousand tolas of silver, twenty elephants for the Emperor, fifteen for Ameer Jumla, and five for Duleer Khan, through whom the negotiations were conducted.


† The hostages given on this occasion were a daughter of the Rajah, a daughter of one of his nearest relations and four sons of his principal chiefs and clansmen.

The following is a sketch of the character of Ameer Jumla, while in the service of the king of Golconda, by Tavernier, who saw him often.

“Meer Goolam was a person of great wit, and no less understanding in military than in state affairs. I had occasion to speak with him several times ; and I have no less admired his justice than his dispatch to all people that had to do with him ; while he gave out several dispatches at the same time, as if he had but one entire business in hand. (Part II. book i. chap. x). The 14th of September, 1648, we went to take our leaves of the Nawab, and to know what he had further to say to us, concerning the commodities we had then shown him. But then he told us he was busy at present, with the examination of certain offenders which are brought before him. For it is the custom of that country never to put a man in prison, but as soon as the offender is taken, he is examined, and sentence is pronounced upon him according to his crime, which is immediately executed ; or if the party taken be found innocent, he is as soon acquitted. And let the controversy be of whatever nature it will, it is immediately decided.

“The 15th in the morning we went to wait upon him again, and were immediately admitted into his tent, where he sat with his two secretaries by him. The Nawab was sitting, according to the custom of the country, barefoot, like one of our tailors, with a great number of papers sticking between his toes, and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his fingers and sometimes from between his toes, and ordered what answers should be given to every one. After his secretaries had written the answers, he caused them to read them, and then took the letters and sealed them himself, giving some to foot messengers, others to horsemen—for you must know, that all those letters which are sent by foot-posts all over India, go with more speed than those which are carried

by horsemen. While we stayed with the Nawab, certain officers came to tell him, that they had brought certain offenders to the door of his tent. He was above half an hour before he returned them any answer, writing on, and giving instructions to his secretaries; but by-and-by, all of a sudden he commanded the offenders to be brought in, and after he had examined them and made them confess the crime of which they stood accused, he was above an hour before he said a word, still writing on, and employing his secretaries. In the mean while several of the officers of the army came to tender their respects to him in a very submissive manner, all whom he answered only with a nod. There was one of the offenders which were brought before him, had broken into a house, and had killed the mother and three children. He was condemned upon the spot to have his hands and feet cut off, and to be cast out into the highway; there to end his days in misery. Another had robbed upon the highway; for which the Nawab ordered his belly to be ripped up, and himself to be cast upon the dunghill. I know not what crimes the other two had committed, but both their heads were cut off. When we perceived him at a little leisure, we asked him whether he had any other commands to lay upon us, and whether he thought our commodities fitting to be shown to the king. He answered that we might go to Golconda, and that he would write to his son in our behalf and that his letter would be there sooner than we. And in order to our journey, he ordered us sixteen horsemen to convey us, and to provide us necessaries upon the road." (Part II. book i. chap. xviii.)



CHAPTER XLVII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

THE contest for the empire of India here described is very like that which preceded it, between the sons of Jehangeer, in which Shah Jehan succeeded in destroying all his brothers and nephews; and that which succeeded it, forty years after, in which Mouzzim, the second of the four sons of Ourungzebe, did the same; * and it may, like the rest of Indian history, teach us a few useful lessons. First, we perceive the advantages of the law of primogeniture, which accustoms people to consider the right of the eldest son as sacred, and the conduct of any man who attempts to violate it as criminal. Among Mahomedans, property, as well real as personal, is divided equally among the sons; and their Koran, which is their only civil and criminal, as well as religious code, makes no provision for the successions to *sovereignty*. The death of every sovereign is, in consequence, followed by a contest between his sons, unless they are overawed by some paramount

* On the death of Ourungzebe, which took place in the Deccan, on the 3rd of March, 1707, his son Azim marched at the head of the troops which he commanded in the Deccan, to meet Mouzzim, who was Viceroy in Cabool. They met and fought near Agra. Azim was defeated and killed. The victor marched to meet his other brother, Kham Buksh, whom he killed near Hydrabad in the Deccan, and secured to himself the empire. On his death, which took place in 1713, his four sons contended in the same manner for the throne at the head of the armies of their respective vicerealties. Meiz-oddeen, the most crafty, persuaded his two brothers, Rutee Oshan and Jehan Shah, to unite their forces with his against their ambitious brother, Azernoshah, whom they defeated and killed. Meiz-oddeen, then destroyed his two allies.

power; and he who succeeds in this contest finds it necessary, for his own security, to put all his brothers and nephews to death, lest they should be rescued by factions, and made the cause of future civil wars. But sons who exercise the powers of viceroys, and command armies, cannot, where the succession is unsettled, wait patiently for the natural death of their father—delay may be dangerous. Circumstances which now seem more favourable to their views than to those of their brothers may alter; the military aristocracy around them depend upon the success of the chief they choose in the enterprise, and the army more upon plunder than regular pay; both may desert the cause of the more wary for that of the more daring; each is flattered into an overweening confidence in his own ability and good fortune; and all rush on to seize upon the throne yet filled by their wretched parent, who, in the history of his own crimes, now reads those of his children. Gibbon has justly observed, (chap. vii.) “The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction; and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession and mild administration of European monarchies. To the defect of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers. Yet even in the East the sphere of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house; and as soon as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren by the sword and the bowstring, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his meaner subjects.”

Among Hindoos, both real and personal property is divided in the same manner, equally among the sons; but a principality is, among them, considered as an exception to this rule; and every large estate, within which the proprietor holds criminal jurisdic-

tion, and maintains a military establishment, is considered a principality. In such estates the law of primogeniture is always rigidly enforced; and the death of the prince scarcely ever involves a contest for power and dominion among his sons. The feelings of the people, who are accustomed to consider the right of the eldest son to the succession as religiously sacred, would be greatly shocked at the attempt of any of his brothers to invade it. The younger brothers, never for a moment supposing they could be supported in such a sacrilegious attempt, feel for their eldest brother a reverence inferior only to that which they feel for their father; and the eldest brother, never supposing such attempts on their part as possible, feels towards them as towards his own children. All the members of such a family commonly live in the greatest harmony. In the laws, usages, and feelings of the people upon this subject, we had the means of preventing that eternal sub-division of landed property, which ever has been, and ever will be, the bane of everything that is great and good in India; but unhappily our rulers have never had the wisdom to avail themselves of them. In a great part of India the property, or the lease of a *village* held in farm under government, was considered as a *principality*, and subject strictly to the same laws of primogeniture—it was a *fief*, held under government on condition of either direct service, rendered to the state in war, in education, or charitable or religious duties, or of furnishing the means, in money or in kind, to provide for such service. In every part of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, the law of primogeniture in such leases was in force when we took possession; and has been ever since preserved. The eldest of the sons that remain united with the father, at his death succeeds to the estate; and to the obligation of maintaining all the widows and orphan children of those of his brothers who remained united to the parent stock up to their death, all his unmarried sisters, and above all, his mother. All the younger brothers aid him in the

management, and are maintained by him till they wish to separate, when a division of the stock takes place, and is adjusted by the elders of the village. The member who thus separates from the parent stock, from that time forfeits for ever all claims to support from the possessor of the ancestral estate, either for himself, his widow, or his orphan children.

Next, it is obvious that no existing government in India could, in case of invasion or civil war, count upon the fidelity of their aristocracy either of land or of office. It is observed by Hume, in treating of the reign of King John, in England. "That men easily change sides in a civil war, especially where the power is founded upon an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people"—that is, upon the people collectively, or the nation; for the hereditary and independent authority of the English baron, in the time of King John, was founded upon the opinion and fidelity of only that portion of the people over which he ruled, in the same manner as that of the Hindoo chiefs of India in the time of Shah Jehan; but it was without reference either to the honesty of the cause he espoused, or to the opinion and feeling of the nation or empire generally regarding it. The Hindoo territorial chiefs, like the feudal barons of the middle ages in Europe, employed all the revenues of their estates in the maintenance of military followers, upon whose fidelity they could entirely rely, whatever side they might themselves take in a civil war; and the more of these resources that were left at their disposal, the more impatient they became of the restraints which settled governments imposed upon them. Under such settled governments they felt, that they had an *arm* which they could not use; and the stronger that arm the stronger was their desire to use it in the subjugation of their neighbours. The reigning emperors tried to secure their fidelity by assigning to them posts of honour about their court, that required their personal attendance in all their pomp of pride;

and by taking from each a daughter in marriage. If any one rebelled or neglected his duties, he was either crushed by the imperial forces, or put to the *ban of the empire*; and his territories were assigned to any one who would undertake to conquer them. Their attendance at our viceroyal court would be a sad encumbrance; and our Governor-general could not well conciliate them by matrimonial alliances, unless we were to alter a good deal in his favour our law against polygamy; nor would it be desirable to "let slip the dogs of war" once more throughout the land by adopting the plan of putting the refractory chiefs to the ban of the empire. Their troops would be of no use to us in the way they are organized and disciplined, even if we could rely upon their fidelity in time of need; and this I do not think we ever can.

If it be the duty of all such territorial chiefs to contribute to the support of the public establishments of the paramount power by which they are secured in the possession of their estates, and defended from all external danger, as it most assuredly is, it is the duty of that power to take such contribution in money, or the means of maintaining establishments more suited to its purpose, than their rude militia can ever be; and thereby to impair the *powers* of that arm which they are so impatient to wield for their own aggrandizement, and to the prejudice of their neighbours; and to strengthen that of the paramount power by which the whole are kept in peace, harmony, and security. We give to India what India never had before our rule, and never could have without it, the assurance that there will always be at the head of the government a sensible ruler trained up to office in the best school in the world; and that the security of the rights, and the enforcement of the duties prescribed or defined by law, will not depend upon the will or caprice of individuals in power. These assurances the people of India now everywhere thoroughly understand, and appreciate.

They see in the native states around them that the lucky accident of an able governor is too rare ever to be calculated upon; while all that the people have of property, office, or character, depends not only upon their governor, but upon every change that he may make in his ministers.

The government of the Mahomedans was always essentially military, and the aristocracy was always one of military office. There was nothing else upon which an aristocracy could be formed. All high civil offices were combined with the military commands. The Emperor was the great proprietor of all the lands, and collected and distributed their rents through his own servants. Every Mussulman with his Koran in his hand was his own priest and his own lawyer; and the people were nowhere represented in any municipal or legislative assembly—there was no bar, bench, senate, corporation, art, science, or literature, by which men could rise to eminence and power. Capital had nowhere been concentrated upon great commercial or manufacturing establishments. There were, in short, no great men but the military servants of government; and all the servants of government held their posts at the will and pleasure of their sovereign.* If a man was

* In Rome, as in Egypt and India, many of the great works which, in modern nations, form the basis of gradations of rank in society, were executed by government out of public revenue or by individuals gratuitously for the benefit of the public; for instance, roads, canals, aqueducts, bridges, &c., from which no one derived an income, though all derived benefit. There was no capital invested with a view to profit in machinery, railroads, canals, steam-engines, and other great works which, in the preparation and distribution of man's enjoyments, save the labour of so many millions to the nations of modern Europe and America, and supply the incomes of many of the most useful and most enlightened members of their middle and higher classes of society. During the republic, and under the first emperors, the laws were simple, and few derived any considerable income from explaining them. Still fewer derived their incomes from expounding the religion of the people till the establishment of Christianity. Man was the principal machine in which property was invested with a

appointed by the Emperor to the command of five thousand, the whole of this five thousand depended entirely on his favour for their employment; and upon their employment for their subsistence,

view to profit, and the concentration of capital in hordes of slaves, and the farm of the public revenues of conquered provinces and tributary states, were with the land the great basis of the aristocracies of Rome, and the Roman world generally. The senatorial and equestrian orders were supported chiefly by lending out their slaves as gladiators and artificers, and by farming the revenues, and lending money to the oppressed subjects of the provinces, and to vanquished princes, at an exorbitant interest, to enable them to pay what the state or its public officers demanded. The slaves throughout the Roman empire were about equal in number to the free population, and they were for the most part concentrated in the hands of the members of the upper and middle classes, who derived their incomes from lending and employing them. They were to those classes in the old world, what canals, railroads, steam-engines, &c. are to those of modern days. Some Roman citizens had as many as five thousand slaves educated to the one occupation of gladiators for the public shows of Rome. Julius Caesar had this number in Italy waiting his return from Gaul; and Gordianus used commonly to give five hundred pair for a public festival, and never less than one hundred and fifty.

In India, slavery is happily but little known; the church had no hierarchy either among the Hindoos or Mahomedans; nor had the law any high interpreters. In all its civil branches of marriage, inheritance, succession, and contract, it was to the people of the two religions as simple as the laws of the twelve tables; and contributed just as little to the support of an aristocracy as they did. In all these respects, China is much the same; the land belongs to the sovereign, and is minutely sub-divided among those who farm and cultivate it—the great works in canals, aqueducts, bridges, roads, &c., are made by government, and yield no private income. Capital is nowhere concentrated in expensive machinery; their church is without a hierarchy, their law without barristers—their higher classes are therefore composed almost exclusively of the public servants of the government. The rule which prescribes that princes of the blood shall not be employed in the government of provinces and the command of armies, and that the reigning sovereign shall have the nomination of his successor, has saved China from a frequent return of the scenes which I have described. None of the princes are put to death, because it is known that all will acquiesce in the nomination when made known, supported as it always is by the popular sentiment throughout the empire.

whether paid from the imperial treasury, or by an assignment of land in some distant province. In our armies there is a regular gradation of rank ; and every officer feels that he holds his commission by a tenure as high in origin, as secure in possession, and as independent in its exercise, as that of the general who commands ; and the soldiers all know and feel, that the places of those officers who are killed or disabled in action, will be immediately filled by those next in rank, who are equally trained to command, and whose authority no one will dispute. In the Mahomedan armies there was no such gradation of rank. Every man held his office at the will of the chief whom he followed ; and he was every moment made to feel, that all his hopes of advancement must depend upon his pleasure. The relation between them was that of patron and client—the client felt bound to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his patron, whatever they might be ; and the patron, in like manner, felt bound to protect and promote the interests of his client, as long as he continued to do so. As often as the patron changed sides in a civil war, his clients all blindly followed him ; and when he was killed, they instantly disposed to serve under any other leader whom they might find willing to take their services on the same terms.

The Hindoo chiefs of the military class had hereditary territorial possessions ; and the greater part of these possessions were commonly distributed on conditions of military service, among their followers, who were all of the same clan. But the highest Mahomedan officers of the empire had not an acre more of land than they required for their dwelling-houses, gardens, and cemeteries. They had nothing but their office to depend upon ; and were always naturally anxious to hold it under the *strongest* side in any competition for dominion. When the star of the competitor under whom they served seemed to be on the wane, they soon found some plausible excuse to make their peace with his rival, and serve under his banners. Each competitor fought for his own

life and those of his children ; the imperial throne could be filled by only one man ; and that man dared not leave one single brother alive. His father had taken good care to dispose of all his own brothers and nephews in the last contest. The subsistence of the highest as well as that of the lowest officer in the army depended upon their employment in the public service ; and all such employments would be given to those who served the victor in the struggle. Under such circumstances one is rather surprised that the history of civil wars in India exhibits so many instances of fidelity and devotion.

The mass of the people stood aloof in such contests without any feeling of interest, save the dread that their homes might become the seat of the war, or the track of armies which were alike destructive to the people in their course, whatever side they might follow. The result could have no effect upon their laws and institutions ; and little upon their industry and property. As ships are from necessity formed to weather the storm to which they are constantly liable at sea, so were the Indian village communities framed to weather those of invasion and civil war, to which they were so much accustomed by land ; and in the course of a year or two no traces were found of ravages that one might have supposed it would have taken ages to recover from. The lands remained the same, and their fertility was improved by the fallow ; every man carried away with him the implements of his trade, and brought them back with him when he returned ; and the industry of every village supplied every necessary article that the community required for their food, clothing, furniture, and accommodation. Each of these little communities, when left unmolested, was in itself sufficient to secure the rights and enforce the duties of all the different members ; and all they wanted from their government was, moderation in the land taxes, and protection from external violence. Arrian says, " If any intestine war happens to break forth among the Indians, it is deemed a heinous crime either

to seize the husbandmen or spoil their harvest. All the rest wage war against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural affairs either in their fields or vineyards." * I am afraid armies were not much more disposed to forbearance in the days of Alexander than at present, and that his followers must have supposed they remained untouched, merely because they heard of their sudden rise again from their ruins by that spirit of moral and political vitality with which necessity seems to have endowed them.

During the early part of his life and reign, Ourungzebe was employed in conquering and destroying the two independent kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapore in the Deccan, which he formed into two provinces governed by viceroys. Each had had an army of above a hundred thousand men while independent. The officers and soldiers of these armies had nothing but their courage and their swords to depend upon for their subsistence. Finding no longer any employment under settled and legitimate authority, in defending the life, property, and independence of the people, they were obliged to seek it around the standards of lawless freebooters; and upon the ruins of these independent kingdoms and their disbanded armies rose the Mahratta power, the hydra-headed monster which Ourungzebe thus created by his ambition, and spent the last twenty years of his life in vain attempts to crush. The monster has been since crushed by being deprived of its Peshwa, the head which alone could infuse into all the members of the confederacy a feeling of nationality, and direct all their efforts when required to one common object.

* Diodorus Siculus has the same observation. "No enemy ever does any prejudice to the husbandmen; but out of a due regard to the common good, forbear to injure them in the least degree; and therefore the land being never spoiled or wasted, yields its fruit in great abundance, and furnishes the inhabitants with plenty of victuals and all other provisions." Book ii. chap. 3.

Seindeea, the chief of Gwalior, is one of the surviving members of this great confederacy—the rest are the Holcars of Indore, the Ghoslas of Nagpore, and the Gykwars of Barodah, the grandchildren of the commandants of predatory armies, who formed capital cities out of their standing camps in the countries they invaded and conquered in the name of their head, the Satarah Rajah, and afterwards in that of his mayor of the palace, the Peshwa. There is not now the slightest feeling of nationality left among the Mahratta states either collectively or individually. There is not the slightest feeling of sympathy between the mass of the people, and the chief who rules over them, and his public establishments. To maintain these public establishments, he everywhere plunders the people, who most heartily detest him and them. These public establishments are composed of men of all religions and sects, gathered from all quarters of India, and bound together by no common feeling save the hope of plunder and promotion. Not one in ten is from, or has his family in, the country where he serves, nor is one in ten of the same clan with his chief. Not one of them has any hope of a provision either for himself, when disabled from wounds or old age, from serving his chief any longer, or for his family, should he lose his life in his service.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE GREAT DIAMOND OF KOHINOOR.

THE foregoing historical episode occupies too large a space in what might otherwise be termed a personal narrative ; but still I am tempted to append to it a sketch of the fortunes of that famous diamond, called with oriental extravagance, the Mountain of Light, which, by exciting the cupidity of Shah Jehan, played so important a part in the drama.

After slumbering for the greater part of a century in the imperial treasury, it was afterwards taken by Nadir Shah, the king of Persia, who invaded India under the reign of Mahomed Shah, in the year 1738. Nadir Shah, in one of his mad fits, had put out the eyes of his son Rizakolee Mirza, and when he was assassinated, the conspirators gave the throne and the diamond to this son's son, Shahrookh Mirza, who fixed his residence at Meesheed. Ahmud Shah, the Abdalee, commanded the Afghan cavalry in the service of Nadir Shah, and had the charge of the military chest at the time he was put to death. With this chest, he and his cavalry left the camp during the disorders that followed the murder of the king, and returned with all haste to Candahar, where they met Turrickee Khan on his way to Nadir Shah's camp with the tribute of the five provinces which he had retained of his Indian conquests, Candahar, Cabul, Tatta, Bukkur, Moulton, and Peshawar. They gave him the first news of the death of the king, seized upon his treasure, and, with the aid of this and the military chest, Ahmud Shah took possession of these five provinces, and

formed them into the little independent kingdom of Affghanistan, over which he long reigned, and from which he occasionally invaded India and Khorassan.

Shahrookh Mirza had his eyes put out some time after by a faction. Ahmud Shah marched to his relief, put the rebels to death, and united his eldest son, Tymoor Shah, in marriage to the daughter of the unfortunate prince, from whom he took the diamond, since it could be of no use to man who could no longer see its beauties ! He established Tymoor as his viceroy at Heerat, and his youngest son at Candahar ; and fixed his own residence at Cabul, where he died. He was succeeded by Tymoor Shah, who was succeeded by his eldest son, Zuman Shah, who after a reign of a few years was driven from his throne by his younger brother, Mahomed. He sought an asylum with his friend Asheek, who commanded a distant fortress, and who betrayed him to the usurper, and put him into confinement. He concealed the great diamond in a service in the wall of the room in which he was confined ; and the rest of his jewels in a hole made in the ground with his dagger. As soon as Mahmood received intimation of the arrest from Asheek, he sent for his brother, had his eyes put out, and demanded the jewels, but Zuman Shah pretended that he had thrown them into the river as he passed over. Two years after this, the third brother, the Sultan Shoojah, deposed Mahomed, ascended the throne by the consent of his elder brother, and, as a fair specimen of his notions of retributive justice, he blew away from the mouths of cannon, not only Asheek himself, but his wife and all his innocent and unoffending children !

He intended to put out the eyes of his deposed brother Mahmood, but was dissuaded from it by his mother and Zuman Shah, who now pointed out to him the place where he had concealed the great diamond. Mahmood made his escape from prison raised a party, drove out his brothers, and once more ascended the throne. The two brothers sought an asylum in the Honoura-

ble Company's territories ; and have from that time resided at an out frontier station of Loodheeana, upon the banks of the Hyphasis, upon a liberal pension assigned for their maintenance by our government. On their way through the territories of the Sikh chief, Runjeet Sing, Shoojah was discovered to have this great diamond, the mountain of light, about his person ; and he was, by a little torture skilfully applied to the mind and body, made to surrender it to his generous host ! Mahmood was succeeded in the government of the fortress and province of Heerat by his son Kamran ; but the throne of Cabul was seized by the mayor of the palace, who bequeathed it to his son Dost Mahomed, a man, in all the qualities requisite in a sovereign, immeasurably superior to any member of the house of Ahmud Shah Abdalee. Runjeet Singh had wrested from him the province of Peshawar in times of difficulty ; and as we would not assist him in recovering it from our old ally, he thought himself justified in seeking the aid of those who would, the Russians and Persians, who were eager to avail themselves of so fair an occasion to establish a footing in India. Such a footing would have been manifestly incompatible with the peace and security of our dominions in India, and we were obliged, in self defence, to give to Shoojah the aid which he had so often before in vain solicited, to enable him to recover the throne of his very limited number of Regal ancestors.

In India, there are a great many native chiefs who were enabled, during the disorders which attended the decline and fall of the Mahomedan power and the rise and progress of the Mahrattas and English, to raise and maintain armies by the plunder of their neighbours. The paramount power of the British being now securely established throughout the country, they are prevented from indulging any longer in such sporting propensities ; and might employ their vast revenues in securing the blessing of good civil government for the territories, in the possession of which they are secured by our military establishments. But

these chiefs are not much disposed to convert their swords into ploughshares; they continue to spend their revenues in the maintenance of useless military establishments for purposes of parade and show. A native prince would, they say, be as insignificant without an army as a native gentleman upon an elephant without a cavalcade, or upon a horse without a tail! But the said army have learnt from their forefathers, that they were to look to aggressions upon their neighbours—to pillage, plunder and conquest for wealth and promotion; and they continue to prevent their prince from indulging in any disposition to turn his attention to the duties of civil government. They all live in the hope of some disaster to the paramount power which secures the increasing wealth of the surrounding countries from their grasp; and threatened innovations from the north-west raise their spirits and hopes in proportion as they depress those of the classes engaged in all branches of peaceful industry.

There are, in all parts of India, thousands and tens of thousands who have lived by the sword, or who wish to live by the sword, but cannot find employment suited to their tastes. These would all flock to the standard of the first lawless chief who could offer them a fair prospect of plunder; and to them all wars and rumours of wars are delightful. The moment they hear of a threatened invasion from the north-west, they whet their swords, and look fiercely around upon those from whose breasts they are "to cut their pound of flesh."*

* The above history of the Koninoor may, I believe, be relied upon. I received a narrative of it from Shah Zuman, the blind old king himself, through General Smith, who commanded the troops at Loodheeana; forming a detail of the several revolutions too long and too full of new names for insertion here.

RAMBLES
AND
RECOLLECTIONS

OF

AN INDIAN OFFICIAL,

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. H. SLEEMAN,

“THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND IS MAN”

Pope.

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RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS.

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CHAPTER I.

PINDAREE SYSTEM—CHARACTER OF THE MAHRATTA ADMINISTRATION—CAUSE
OF THEIR DISLIKE TO THE PARAMOUNT POWER.

THE attempt of the Marquis of Hastings to rescue India from that dreadful scourge, the Pindaree system, involved him in a war with all the great Mahratta states except Gwalior ; that is, with the Peshwa at Poonah, Holcar at Indore, and the Ghosla at Nagpore ; and Gwalior was prevented from joining the other states in their unholy league against us, only by the presence of the grand division of the army under the personal command of the marquis, in the immediate vicinity of his capital. It was not that these chiefs liked the Pindarees, or felt any interest in their welfare ; but because they were always anxious to crush that rising paramount authority, which had the power, and had always manifested the will, to interpose and prevent the free indulgence of their predatory habits—the free exercise of that weapon a standing army, which the disorders incident upon the decline and fall of the Mahomedan empire had put into their hands ; and which a continued series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours could alone enable them to pay or keep under control. They seized with avidity any occasion of quarrel with the paramount power which seemed likely to unite them all in one great effort to shake it off ; and they are still prepared to do the same, because they feel that they could easily extend their depredations if that power were withdrawn ; and they know no other road to wealth and glory but such successful depredations. Their ances-

tors rose by them, their states were formed by them, and their armies have been maintained by them. They look back upon them for all that seems to them honourable in the history of their families. Their bards sing of them in all their marriage and funeral processions; and as their imaginations kindle at the recollection, they detest the arm that is extended to defend the wealth and the industry of the surrounding territories from their grasp. As the industrious classes acquire and display their wealth in the countries around, during a long peace, under a strong and settled government, these native chiefs, with their little disorderly armies, feel precisely as an English country gentleman would feel with a pack of fox-hounds, in a country swarming with foxes, and without the privilege of hunting them.

Their armies always took the auspices and set out *kingdom taking* (Moolk Geeree) after the Duseyra, in November, every year, as regularly as English gentlemen go partridge shooting on the 1st of September; and I may here give as a specimen, the excursion of Jean Baptiste Feloze, who sallied forth on such an expedition, at the head of the division of Seindhea's army just before this Pindara war commenced. From Gwalior he proceeded to Knowlee, and took from the chief of that territory the district of Subulghur, yielding four lacks of rupees yearly. He then took the territory of the Rajah of Chundeylee, Morepylad, one of the oldest of the Bundelcund chiefs, which then yielded about seven lacks of rupees, but now yields only four. The Rajah got an allowance of forty thousand rupees a year. He then took the territories of the Rajahs of Ragooghur and Bujrunggur, yielding three lacks a year; and Bahadergur yielding two lacks a year; and the three princes get fifty thousand rupees a year for subsistence among them. He then took scopore, yielding two lacks and a half, and assigned the Rajah twenty-five thousand. He then took Gurha Kotah, whose chief gets subsistence from our government, Baptiste had just completed his kingdom-taking expedi-

tion, when our armies took the field against the Pindarees ; and on the termination of that war, in 1817, all these acquisitions were confirmed and guaranteed to his master, Scindhea, by our government. It cannot be supposed that either he or his army can ever feel any great attachment towards a paramount authority, that has the power and the will to interpose, and prevent their indulging in such sporting excursions as these or any great disinclination to take advantage of any occasion that may seem likely to unite all the native chiefs in a common effort to crush it. The Nepalese have the same feeling as the Muhrattas in a still stronger degree, since their kingdom-taking excursions had been still greater and more successful ; and being all soldiers from the same soil, they were easily persuaded, by a long series of successful aggressions, that their courage was superior to that of all other men.*

In the year 1833, the Gwalior territory yielded a net revenue to the treasury of ninety-two lacks of rupees, after disbursing all the local costs of the civil and fiscal administration of the different districts, in officers, establishments, charitable institutions, religious endowments, military fiefs, &c. In the remote districts, which are much infested by the predatory tribes of Bheels, and in consequence badly peopled and cultivated, the net revenue is estimated to be about one-third of the gross collections ; but in the districts near the capital, which are tolerably well cultivated, the net revenue brought to the treasury is about five-sixths of the gross collections ; and these collections are equal to the whole annual rent of the land : for every man by whom the land is held or cultivated is a mere tenant at will, liable every season to be

* On the coronation or installation of every new prince of the house of Scindhea, orders are given to plunder a few shops in the town as a part of the ceremony ; and this they call or consider " taking the auspices," Compensation is supposed to be made to the proprietors, but rarely is made. I believe the same auspices are taken at the installation of a new prince of every other Muhratta house. The Mogul invaders of India were, in the same manner, obliged to allow their armies to take the auspices in the sack of a few towns, though they had surrendered without resistance. They were given up to pillage as a religious duty ! Even the accomplished Baber was obliged to concede this privilege to his army.

turned out, to give place to any other man that may offer more for the holding. There is nowhere to be seen upon the land any useful or ornamental work, calculated to attach the people to the soil, or to their villages: and as hardly any of the recruits for the regiments are drawn from the peasantry of the country, the agricultural classes have nowhere any feeling of interest in the welfare or existence of the government. I am persuaded that there is not a single village in all the Gwalior dominions in which nine-tenths of the people would not be glad to see that government destroyed, under the persuasion, that they could not possibly have a worse, and would be very likely to find a better.

The present force at Gwalior consists of three regiments of infantry, under Colonel Alexander; six under the command of Apajee, the adopted son of the late Bala Bae; eleven under Colonel Jacobs and his son; five under Colonel Jean Baptiste Feloze; two under the command of the Mamoo Sahib, the maternal uncle of the Maha Rajah three in what is called Bapoo Bowlee's; camp; in all thirty regiments, consisting, when complete, of six hundred men each, with four field-pieces. The Jinsee, or artillery, consists of two hundred guns of different calibre. There are but few corps of cavalry, and these are not considered very efficient, I believe.

Robbers and murderers of all descriptions have always been in the habit of taking the field in India immediately after the festival of the Duseyra, at the end of October, from the sovereign of a state at the head of his armies, down to the leader of a little band of pick pockets from the corner of some obscure village. All invoke the Deity, and take the auspices to ascertain his will, nearly in the same way; and all expect that he will guide them successfully through their enterprises, as long as they find the omens favourable. No one among them ever dreams that his undertaking can be less acceptable to the Deity than that of another, provided he gives him the same due share of what

he acquires in his thefts, his robberies, or his conquests, in sacrifices and offerings upon his shrines, and in donations to his priests. Nor does the robber often dream that he shall be considered a less respectable citizen by the circle in which he moves than the soldier, provided he spends his income as liberally, and discharges all his duties in his relations with them as well; and this he generally does to secure their good will, whatever may be the character of his depredations upon distant circles of society and communities. The man who returned to Oude, or Rohilcund, after a campaign under a Pindaree chief, was as well received as one who returned after serving, one under Scindhea, Holcar, or Runjeet Sing. A friend of mine one day asked a leader of a band of Dacoits, or banditti, whether they did not often commit murder. "God forbid," said he, "that we should ever commit murder; but if people choose to oppose us, we of course *strike and kill*; but you do the same. I hear that there is now a large assemblage of troops in the upper provinces going to take foreign countries; if they are opposed, they will kill people. We *only* do the same!" The history of the rise of every nation in the world unhappily bears out the notion that princes are only robbers upon a large scale, till their ambition is curbed by a balance of power among nations.

On the 25th we came on to Dhanu, fourteen miles, over a plain, with the range of sandstone hills on the left, receding from us to the west; and that on the right receding still more to the east. Here and there were some insulated hills, of the same formation, rising abruptly from the plain to our right. All the villages we saw were built upon masses of this sandstone rock, rising abruptly at intervals from the surface of the plain, in horizontal strata. These hillocks afford the people stone for building, and great facilities for defending themselves against the inroads of freebooters. There is not, I suppose, in the world, finer stones for building than these sandstone hills afford; and

we passed a great many carts carrying them off to distant places, in slabs or flags from ten to sixteen feet long, two or three feet wide, and six inches thick. They are white, with very minute pink spots, and of a texture so very fine, that they would be taken for indurated clay, on a slight inspection. The houses of the poorest peasants are here built of this beautiful freestone, which, after two hundred years, looks as if it had been quarried only yesterday.

About three miles from our tents we crossed over the little river Ghorapuchar, flowing over a bed of this sandstone. The soil all the way very light, and the cultivation scanty and bad. Except within the enclosures of men's houses, scarcely a tree to be anywhere seen to give shelter and shade to the weary traveller; and we could find no ground for our camp with a shrub to shelter man or beast. All are swept away to form gun-carriages for the Gwalior artillery, with a philosophical disregard to the comforts of the living, the repose of the dead, who planted them with a view to a comfortable berth in the next world, and to the will of the gods to whom they are dedicated. There is nothing left upon the land, of animal or vegetable life, to animate or enrich it; nothing of stock but what is necessary to draw from the soil an annual crop, and which looks to one harvest for its entire return. The sovereign proprietor of the soil lets it out by the year, in farms of villages, to men who depend entirely upon the year's return for the means of payment. He, in his turn, lets the lands in detail to those who till them, and who depend for their subsistence, and for the means of paying their rents, upon the returns of the single harvest. There is no manufacture anywhere to be seen, save of brass pots and rude cooking utensils; no trade or commerce, save in the transport of the rude produce of the land, to the great camp at Gwalior, upon the backs of bullocks, for want of roads fit for wheeled carriages. No one resides in the villages, save those whose labour is indispensably necessary to

the rudest tillage, and those who collect the dues of government, and are paid upon the lowest possible scale. Such is the state of the Gwalior territories in every part of India where I have seen them. The miseries and misrule of the Oude, Hydrabad, and other Mahomedan governments, are heard of everywhere, because there are, under those governments, a middle and higher class upon the land to suffer and proclaim them; but those of the Gwalior state are never heard of, because no such classes are ever allowed to grow up upon the land. Had Russia governed Poland, and Turkey Greece, in the way that Gwalior has governed her conquered territories, we should never have heard of the wrongs of the one or the other.

In my morning's ride, the day before I left Gwalior, I saw a fine leopard standing by the side of the most frequented road, and staring at every one who passed. It was held by two men, who sat by and talked to it as if it had been a human being. I thought it was an animal for show, and I was about to give them something, when they told me that they were servants of the Maha Rajah, and were training the leopard to bear the sight and society of man. "It had," they said, "been caught about three months ago in the jungles, where it could never bear the sight of man, or of any animal that it could not prey upon; and must be kept upon the most frequented road till quite tamed. Leopards taken when very young would," they said, "do very well as pets, but never answered for hunting; a good leopard for hunting must, before taken, be allowed to be a season or two providing for himself, and living upon the deer he takes in the jungles and plains."



CHAPTER II.

DHOLEPORE, CAPITAL OF THE JAT CHIEFS OF GOHUD—CONSEQUENCE OF
OBSTACLES TO THE PROSECUTION OF ROBBERS.

ON the morning of the 26th we sent on one tent, with the intention of following it in the afternoon; but about three o'clock a thunder-storm came on so heavily, that I was afraid that which we occupied would come down upon us; and putting my wife and children in a palankeen, I took them to the dwelling of an old Byragee, about two hundred yards from us. He received us very kindly, and paid us many compliments about the honour we had conferred upon him. He was a kind and, I think, a very good old man, and had six disciples who seemed to reverence him very much. A large stone image of Hoonooman, the monkey god, painted red, and a good store of buffalos, very comfortably sheltered from the "pitiless storm," were in an inner court. The peacocks in dozens sought shelter under the walls and in the tree that stood in the courtyard; and I believe that they would have come into the old man's apartments had they not seen our white faces there. I had a great deal of talk with him, but did not take any notes of it. These old Byragees, who spend the early and middle periods of life as disciples in pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of their god Vishnu, in all parts of India, and the latter part of it as high priests or apostles, in listening to the reports of the numerous disciples employed in similar wanderings, are perhaps the most intelligent men in the country. They are from all the castes and classes of society. The lowest Hindoo may become a Byragee, and the very highest are often tempted to become so;

the service of the god to which they devote themselves levelling all distinctions. Few of them can write or read, but they are shrewd observers of men and things, and often exceedingly agreeable and instructive companions to those who understand them and can make them enter into unreserved conversation. Our tent stood out the storm pretty well, but we were obliged to defer our march till next day. On the afternoon of the 27th we went on twelve miles, over a plain of deep alluvion, through which two rivers have cut their way to the Chumbul; and, as usual, the ravines along their banks are deep, long, and dreary.

About half way we were overtaken by one of the heaviest showers of rain I ever saw; it threatened us from neither side, but began to descend from an apparently small bed of clouds directly over our heads, which seemed to spread out on every side as the rain fell, and fill the whole vault of heaven with one dark and dense mass. The wind changed frequently; and in less than half an hour the whole surface of the country over which we were travelling was under water. This dense mass of clouds passed off, in about two hours to the east; but twice, when the sun opened and beamed divinely upon us in a cloudless sky to the west, the wind changed suddenly round, and, rushed back angrily from the east, to fill up the space which had been quickly rarified by the genial heat of its rays, till we were again enveloped in darkness, and began to despair of reaching any human habitation before night. Some hail fell among the rain, but not large enough to hurt any one. The thunder was loud and often startling to the strongest nerves; and the lightning vivid and almost incessant. We managed to keep the road because it was merely a beaten pathway below the common level of the country, and we could trace it by the greater depth of the water, and the absence of all shrubs and grass. All roads in India soon become water-courses—they are nowhere metalled; and, being left for four or five months every year without rain, their soil is reduced to powder by friction, and carried off by

the winds over the surrounding country. I was on horseback, but my wife and child were secure in a good palankeen that sheltered them from the rain. The bearers were obliged to move with great caution and slowly, and I sent on every person I could spare that they might *keep moving*, for the cold blast blowing over their thin and wet clothes seemed intolerable to those who were idle. My child's playmate, Gholab, a lad of about ten years of age, resolutely kept by the side of the palankeen, trotting through the water with his teeth chattering as if he had been in an ague. The rain at last ceased, and the sky in the west cleared up beautifully about half an hour before sunset. Little Gholab threw off his stuffed and quilted vest, and got a good dry English blanket to wrap round him from the palankeen. We soon after reached a small village, in which I treated all who had remained with us to as much coarse sugar (goor) as they could eat; and as people of all castes can eat of sweetmeats from the hands of confectioners without prejudice to their caste, and this sugar is considered to be the best of all good things for guarding against colds in man or beast, they all ate very heartily, and went on in high spirits. As the sun sank before us on the left, a bright moon shone out upon us from the right, and about an hour after dark we reached our tents on the north bank of the Kooree river, where we found an excellent dinner for ourselves, and good fires, and good shelter for our servants. Little rain had fallen near the tents, and the river Kooree, over which we had to cross, had not fortunately much swelled; nor did much fall on the ground we had left; and as the tents there had been struck and laden before it came on, they came up the next morning early, and went on to our next ground.

On the 28th, we went on to Dholepore, the capital of the jat chiefs of Gohud, on the left bank of the Chumbul, over a plain with a variety of crops, but not one that requires two seasons to reach maturity. The soil excellent in quality and deep, but not a tree anywhere to be seen, nor any such thing as a work of orna-

ment or general utility of any kind. We saw the fort of Dholepore at a distance of six miles, rising apparently from the surface of the level plain ; but in reality situated on the summit of the opposite and high bank of a large river, its foundation at least one hundred feet above the level of the water. The immense pandemonia of ravines that separated us from this fort, were not visible till we began to descend into them some two or three miles from the bed of the river. Like all the ravines that border the river in these parts, they are naked, gloomy, and ghastly, and the knowledge that no solitary traveller is ever safe in them, does not tend to improve the impression they make upon us. The river is a beautiful clear stream, here flowing over a bed of fine sand with a motion so gentle, that one can hardly conceive it is she who has played such *fantastic tricks* along the borders, and made such "frightful gashes" in them. As we passed over this noble reach of the river Chumbul in a ferry-boat, the boatman told us of the magnificent bridge formed here by the Byza Bae for Lord William Bentinck in the year 1832, from boats brought down from Agra for the purpose. "Little," said they, "did it avail her with the Governor-general in her hour of need !"

The town of Dholepore lies some short way in from the north bank of the Chumbul, at the extremity of a range of sandstone hills which runs diagonally across that of Gwalior. This range was once capped with basalt, and some boulders are still found upon it in a state of rapid decomposition. It was quite refreshing to see the beautiful mango groves on the Dholepore side of the river, after passing through a large tract of country in which no tree of any kind was to be seen. On returning from a long ride over the range of sandstone hills the morning after we reached Dholepore, I passed through an encampment of camels taking rude iron from some mines in the hills to the south towards Agra. They waited here within the frontier of a native state for a pass from the Agra custom-house, lest any one should, after they enter our frontier,

pretend that they were going to smuggle it, and thus get them into trouble. "Are you not," said I, "afraid to remain here so near the ravines of the Chumbul, where thieves are said to be so numerous?" "Not at all," replied they. "I suppose thieves do not think it worth while to steal rude iron?" Thieves, sir, think it worth their while to steal anything they can get, but we do not fear them much here?" "Where then do you fear them much?" "We fear them when we get into the Company's territories." "And how is this, when we have good police establishments, and the Dholepore people none?" When the Dholepore people get hold of a thief, they make him disgorge all that he has got of our property *for us*, and they confiscate all the rest that he has *for themselves*; and cut off his nose or his hands, and turn him adrift to deter others. You, on the contrary, when you get hold of a thief, worry us to death in the prosecution of your courts; and when we have proved the robbery to your satisfaction, you leave all this ill-gotten wealth to his family, and provide him with good food and clothing yourselves, while he works for you a couple of years on the roads. The consequence is, that here fellows are afraid to rob a traveller if they find him at all on his guard, as we generally are; while in your districts they rob us where and when they like." "But, my friends, you are sure to recover what we do get of your property from the thieves." "Not quite sure of that neither," said they; for the greater part is generally absorbed on its way back to us through the officers of your court; and we would always rather put up with the first loss, than run the risk of a greater by prosecution, if we happen to get robbed within the Company's territories." The loss and annoyance to which prosecutors and witnesses are subject in our courts, are a source of very great evil to the country. They enable police officers everywhere to grow rich upon the concealment of crimes. The man who has been robbed will bribe them to conceal the robbery, that he may escape the further loss of the prosecution in our courts, generally

very distant and the witnesses will bribe them, to avoid attending to give evidence; the whole village communities bribe them, because every man feels that they have the power of getting him summoned to the court in some capacity or other if they like; and that they will certainly like to do so if not bribed. The obstacles which our system opposes to the successful prosecution of robbers of all denominations and descriptions, deprive our government of all popular support in the administration of criminal justice; and this is considered everywhere to be the worst, and indeed the only radically bad feature of our government. No magistrate hopes to get a final conviction against one in four of the most atrocious gang of robbers and murderers of his district, and his only resource is in the security laws which enable him to keep them in a jail under a requisition of security for short periods. To this an idle or apathetic magistrate will not have recourse; and under him these robbers have a free license.

In England, a judicial acquittal does not send back the culprit to follow the same trade in the same field as in India; for the published proceedings of the court bring down upon him the indignation of society—the moral and religious feelings of his fellow men are arrayed against him, and from these salutary checks no flaw in the indictment can save him. Not so in India. There no moral or religious feelings interpose to assist or to supply the deficiencies of the penal law. Provided he eats, drinks, smokes, marries, and makes his offerings to his priest according to the rules of his caste, the robber and the murderer incurs no odium in the circle in which he moves, either religious or moral, and this is the only circle for whose feelings he has any regard.

The man who passed off his bad coin at Duteea, passed off more at Dholepore while my advanced people were coming in, pretending that he wanted things for me, and was in a great hurry to be ready with them at my tents by the time I came up. The bad rupees were brought to a native officer of my guard, who

went with the shopkeepers in search of the knave, but he could nowhere be found. The gates of the town were shut up all night at my suggestion, and in the morning every lodging-house in the town was searched for him in vain—he had gone on. I had left some sharp men behind me, expecting that he would endeavour to pass off his bad money immediately after my departure ; but in expectation of this he was now evidently keeping a little in advance of me. I sent on some men with the shopkeepers whom he had cheated to our next stage, in the hope of overtaking him ; but he had left the place before they arrived without passing any of his bad coin, and gone on to Agra. The shopkeepers could not be persuaded to go any further after him, for if they caught him, they should, they said, have infinite trouble in prosecuting him in our courts, without any chance of recovering from him what they had lost !

On the 29th, we remained at Dholeporo to receive and return the visits of the young Rajah, or, as he is called, the young Rana, a lad of about fifteen years of age, very plain, and very dull. He came about ten o'clock in the forenoon with a very respectable and well-dressed retinue, and a tolerable show of elephants and horses. The uniforms of his guards were made after those of our own soldiers, and did not please me half so much as those of the Duteea guards, who were permitted to consult their own tastes ; and the music of $\frac{1}{2}$ drums and fifes seemed to me infinitely inferior to that of the mounted minstrels of my old friend Pareechut. The lad had with him about a dozen old public servants entitled to chairs, some of whom had served his father above thirty years ; while the ancestors of others had served his grandfathers and great grandfathers, and I could not help telling the lad in their presence, “ That these were the greatest ornament of a prince's throne, and the best signs and pledges of a good government.” They were all evidently much pleased at the compliment, and I thought they deserved to be pleased, from the good character they

bore among the peasantry of the country. I mentioned that I had understood the boatman of the Chumbul at Dholepore never caught or ate fish. The lad seemed embarrassed, and the minister took upon himself to reply, "That there was no market for it, since the Hindoos of Dholepore never ate fish, and the Mahomedans had all disappeared." I asked the lad, "Whether he was fond of hunting?" He seemed again confounded; and the minister said, "That his highness never either hunted or fished, as people of his caste were prohibited from destroying life." "And yet," said I, "they have often showed themselves good soldiers in battle." They were all pleased again, and said, "That they were not prohibited from killing tigers; but that there was no jungle of any kind near Dholepore, and, consequently, no tigers to be found." The Jâts are descendants of the Getae, and were people of very low caste, or rather of no caste at all among the Hindoos; and they are now trying to raise themselves by abstaining from eating and killing animals. Among Hindoos this is everything; a man of low caste is a man who "subkooch khata," sticks at nothing in the way of eating; and a man of high caste, is a man who abstains from eating anything but vegetable or farinaceous food; if, at the same time he abstains from using in his cook-room all but one, and has that one washed before he uses it, he is civilized. Having attained to military renown and territorial dominion, in the usual way, by robbery, the Jâts naturally enough seek the distinction of high caste, to enable them the better to enjoy their position in society. It had been stipulated that I should walk to the bottom of the steps to receive the Rana, as is the usage on such occasions, and carpets were accordingly spread thus far. Here he got out of his chair, and I led him into the large room of the bungalow, which we occupied during our stay, followed by all his and my attendants. The bungalow had been built by the former British resident at Gwalior, the Honourable R. Cavendish, for his residence during the latter part

of the rains when Gwalior is considered to be unhealthy. At his departure, the Rana purchased this bungalow for the use of European gentlemen and ladies passing through his capital.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, I went to return his visit, in a small palace not yet finished, a pretty piece of miniature fortification, surrounded by what they call their chownee, or cantonments. The streets are good, and the buildings neat and substantial; but there is nothing to strike or particularly interest the stranger. The interview passed off without anything remarkable; and I was more than ever pleased with the people by whom this young chief is surrounded. Indeed, I had much reason to be pleased with the manners of all the people on this side of the Chumbul. They are those of a people well pleased to see English gentlemen among them, and anxious to make themselves useful and agreeable to us. They know that their chief is indebted to the British Government for all the country he has, and that he would be swallowed up by Scindhea's greedy army were not the sevenfold shield of the honourable Company spread over him. His establishments, civil and military, like those of the Bundelcund chiefs, are raised from the peasantry and yeomanry of the country; who all, in consequence, feel an interest in the prosperity and independent respectability of their chief. On the Gwalior side, the members of all the public establishments know and feel, that it is we who interpose and prevent their masters from swallowing up all his neighbours, and thereby having increased means of promoting their interest and that of their friends; and they detest us all most cordially in consequence. The peasantry of the Gwalior territories seem to consider their own government a kind of minotaur, which they would be glad to see destroyed, no matter how or by whom; since it gives no lucrative or honourable employment to any of their members, so as to interest either their pride or their affections; nor throws back among them for purposes of local advantage, any of the produce of their land and

labour which it exacts. It is worthy of remark, that though the Dholepore chief is peculiarly the creature of the British government, and indebted to it for all he has or ever will have, and though he has never had anything, and never can have or can hope to have anything from the poor pageant of the house of Tymour, who now sits on the throne of Delhi,—yet on his seal of office he declares himself to be the slave and creature of that imperial “*warrior for the faith of Islam.*” As he abstains from eating the good fish of the river Chumbul to enhance his claim to caste among Hindoos, so he abstains from acknowledging his deep debt of gratitude to the honourable Company, or the British government, with a view to give the rust of age to his rank and title—to acknowledge himself a creature of the British government, were to acknowledge that he was a man of yesterday—to acknowledge himself the slave of the Emperor, is to claim for his poor veins “the blood of a line of kings.” The petty chiefs of Bundelcund, who are in the same manner especially dependent on the British government, do the same thing.

At Dholepore, there are some noble old mosques and mausoleums built three hundred years ago, in the reign of the Emperor Hoomaon, by some great officers of his government, whose remains still rest undisturbed among them, though the names of their families have been for many ages forgotten, and no men of their creed now live near to demand of them the respect of the living. These tombs are all elaborately built and worked out of the fine freestone of the country; and the trellis work upon some of their stone screens, is still as beautiful as when first made. There are Persian and Arabic inscriptions upon all of them; and I found from them, that one of the mosques had been built by the Emperor Shah Jehan in A.D. 1634, when he little dreamed that his three sons would here meet to fight the great fight for the throne, while he yet sat upon it. X



CHAPTER III.



INFLUENCE OF ELECTRICITY ON VEGETATION—AGRA AND ITS BUILDINGS.

On the 30th and 31st, we went twenty-four miles over a dry plain, with a sandy soil covered with excellent crops where irrigated, and very poor ones where not. We met several long strings of camels carrying grain from Agra to Gwalior. A single man takes charge of twenty or thirty, holding the bridle of the first, and walking on before its nose. The bridles of all the rest are tied one after the other to the saddles of those immediately before them, and all move along after the leader in single file. Water must tend to attract and to impart to vegetables a good deal of electricity and other vivifying powers that would otherwise lie dormant in the earth at a distance from their roots. The mere circumstance of moistening the earth from within reach of the roots, would not be sufficient to account for the vast difference between the crops of fields that are irrigated, and those that are not. One day, in the middle of the season of the rains, I asked my gardener, while walking with him over my grounds, how it was that some of the fine clusters of bamboos had not yet begun to throw out their shoots. "We have not yet had a thunder-storm, sir," replied the gardener. "What in the name of God has the thunder-storm to do with the shooting of the bamboos?" asked I in amazement. "I don't know, sir," said he, "but certain it is, that no bamboos begin to throw out their shoots well till we get a good deal of thunder and lightning." The thunder and lightning came, and the bamboo shoots soon followed in abundance. It might have been a mere coincidence; or the tall bamboos may

bring down from the passing clouds and convey to the roots the electric fluid they require for nourishment, or for conductors of nourishment.* In the Isle of France, people have a notion that the mushrooms always come up best after a thunder-storm. Electricity has certainly much more to do in the business of the world than we are yet aware of, in the animal, mineral and vegetable developements.

• At our ground this day, I met a very respectable and intelligent native revenue officer who had been employed to settle some boundary disputes between the yeomen of our territory and those of the adjoining territory of Dholepore. "The honourable Company's rights and those of its yeomen must," said he, "be inevitably sacrificed in all such cases; for the Dholepore chief, or his minister, says to all their witnesses. 'You are of course expected to speak the truth regarding the land in dispute; but, by the sacred stream of the Ganges, if you speak so as to lose this estate one inch of it, you lose both your ears!'—and most assuredly would they lose them," continued he, "if they were not to swear most resolutely, that all the land in question belonged to Dholepore. Had I the same power to cut off the ears of witnesses on our side, we should meet on equal terms. Were I to threaten to cut them off they would laugh in my face." There was much truth in what the poor man said, for the Dholepore witnesses always make it appear that the claims of their yeomen are just and moderate, and a salutary dread of losing their ears operates no doubt very strongly. The threatened punishment of the prince is quick, while that of the gods, however just, is certainly very slow—"ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira Deorum est."

* It is not perhaps generally known, though it deserves to be so, that the bamboo seeds only once, and dies immediately after seeding. All bamboos from the same seed die at the same time, wherever they may have been planted. The life of the common large bamboo is about fifty years.

On the 1st of January, 1836, we went on sixteen miles to Agra, and when within about six miles of the city, the dome and minaret of the Taj opened upon us from behind a small grove of fruit trees, close by us on the side of the road. The morning was not clear, but it was a good one for a first sight of this building, which appeared larger through the dusty haze than it would have done through a clear sky. For five and twenty years of my life had I been looking forward to the sight now before me. Of no building on earth had I heard so much as of this, which contains the remains of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and his wife; the father and mother of the children, whose struggles for dominion have been already described. We had ordered our tents to be pitched in the gardens of this splendid mausoleum, that we might have our full of the enjoyment which everybody seemed to derive from it; and we reached them about eight o'clock. I went over the whole building before I entered my tent; and from the first sight of the dome and minarets on the distant horizon, to the last glance back from my tent-ropes to the magnificent gateway that forms the entrance from our camp to the quadrangle in which they stand, I can truly say that everything surpassed my expectations. I at first thought the dome formed too large a portion of the whole building; that its neck was too long and too much exposed; and that the minarets were too plain in their design; but after going repeatedly over every part, and examining the *tout ensemble* from all possible positions, and in all possible lights, from that of the full moon at midnight in a cloudless sky, to that of the moon-day sun, the mind seemed to repose in the calm persuasion, that there was an entire harmony of parts, a faultless congregation of architectural beauties, on which it could dwell for ever without fatigue.

After my quarter of a century of anticipated pleasure, I went on from part to part in the expectation that I must by-and-by come to something that would disappoint me; but no, the

emotion which one feels at first is never impaired : on the contrary, it goes on improving from the first *coup d'œil* of the dome in the distance, to the minute inspection of the last flower upon the screen round the tomb. One returns and returns to it with undiminished pleasure : and though at every return one's attention to the smaller parts becomes less and less, the pleasure which he derives from the contemplation of the greater, and of the whole collectively, seems to increase ; and he leaves it with a feeling of regret, that he could not have it all his life within his reach ; and of assurance that the image of what he has seen can never be obliterated from his mind "while memory holds her seat." I felt that it was to me in architecture what Kemble and his sister, Mrs. Siddons, had been to me a quarter of a century before in acting, something that must stand alone—something that I should never cease to see clearly in my mind's eye, and yet never be able clearly to describe to others.

The Emperor and his Queen lie buried side by side in a vault beneath the building, to which we descend by a flight of steps. Their remains are covered by two slabs of marble ; and directly over these slabs, upon the floor above, in the great centre room under the dome, stand two other slabs, or cenotaphs, of the same marble exquisitely worked in mosaic. Upon that of the Queen, amid wreaths of flowers, are worked in black letters passages from the Koran ; one of which, at the end facing the entrance, terminates with, "And defend us from the *tribe* of unbelievers ;" that very *tribe* which are now gathered from all quarters of the civilized world, to admire the splendour of the tomb which was raised to perpetuate her name.* On the slab over her husband, there are no passages from the Koran ; merely mosaic work of flowers, with his name, and the date of his death. I asked some of the learned Mahomedan attendants, the cause

* No European had ever before, I believe, noticed this.

of this difference; and was told, that Shah Jehan had himself designed the slab over his wife, and saw no harm in inscribing the *words of God* upon it; but that the slab over himself was designed by his more pious son, Ourungzebe, who did not think it right to place these *holy words* upon a stone which the foot of man might some day touch, though that stone covered the remains of his own father.* Such was this “man of prayers,” this *Namazee*, as Dara called him, to the last. He knew mankind well, and above all that part of them which he was called upon to govern; and which he governed for forty years with so much ability.

The slab over the Queen occupies the centre of the apartments above, and in the vault below, and those over her husband lie on the left as we enter. At one end of the slab in the vault, her name is inwrought, “Moontaj-i mahul, Ranoo Begum,” the ornament of the palace, Ranoo Begum; and the date of her death, 1631. That of her husband and the date of his death, 1666, are inwrought upon the other. She died in giving birth to a daughter, who is said to have been heard crying in the womb by herself and her other daughters. She sent for the Emperor, and told him, “that she believed no mother had ever been known to survive the birth of a child so bearded, and that she felt her end was near. She had,” she said, “only two requests to make: first, that he would not marry again after her death, and get children to contend with hers for his favour and dominions; and secondly, that he would build for her the tomb with which he had promised to perpetuate her name.” She died in giving birth to the child, as might have been expected, when the Emperor in his anxiety called all the

* The Empress had been a good deal exasperated against the Portuguese and Dutch, by the treatment her husband received from them when a fugitive, after an unsuccessful rebellion against his father; and her hatred to them extends, in some degree, to all Christians, whom she considered to be included in the term *kafer*, or unbeliever.

midwives of the city, and all his secretaries of state and privy councillors to prescribe for her! Both her dying requests were granted. Her tomb was commenced upon immediately. No woman ever pretended to supply her place in the palace; nor had Shah Jehan, that we know of, children by any other. Tavernier saw this building commenced and finished; and tells us, that it occupied twenty thousand men for twenty-two years. The mausoleum itself and all the buildings that appertain to it, cost 3,17,48,026, three crore, seventeen lacks, forty-eight thousand and twenty-six rupees, or 3,174,802 pounds sterling;—three million, one hundred and seventy-four thousand, eight hundred and two! I asked my wife, when she had gone over it, what she thought of the building? “I cannot,” said she, “tell you what I think, for I know not how to criticise such a building, but I can tell you what I feel. I would die to-morrow to have such another over me.” This is what many a lady has felt, no doubt.

The building stands upon the north side of a large quadrangle, looking down into the clear blue stream of the river Jumna, while the other three sides are enclosed with a high wall of red sandstone. The entrance to this quadrangle is through a magnificent gateway in the south side opposite the tomb; and on the other two sides are very beautiful mosques facing inwards, and corresponding exactly with each other in size, design, and execution. That on the left or west side, is the only one that can be used as a mosque or church; because the faces of the audience, and those of all men at their prayers, must be turned towards the tomb of their prophet to the west. The pulpit is always against the dead wall at the back, and the audience face towards it, standing with their backs to the open front of the building. The church on the east side is used for the accommodation of visitors, or for any secular purpose; and was built merely as a *jowab* (answer) to the real one. The whole area is laid out in square parterres, planted with flowers and shrubs in the centre, and with fine trees, chiefly

the cypress, all round the borders, forming an avenue to every road. These roads are all paved with slabs of freestone, and have, running along the centre, a basin, with a row of jets d'eau in the middle from one extremity to the other. These are made to play almost every evening, when the gardens are much frequented by the European gentlemen and ladies of the station, and by natives of all religions and sects. The quadrangle is from east to west nine hundred and sixty-four feet; and from north to south three hundred and twenty-nine.

The mausoleum itself, the terrace upon which it stands, and the minarets, are all formed of the finest white marble inlaid with precious stones. The wall around the quadrangle, including the river face of the terrace, is made of red sandstone, with cupolas and pillars of the same white marble. The inside of the churches and apartments in and upon the walls are all lined with marble or with stucco work that looks like marble; but on the outside, the red sandstone resembles uncovered bricks. The dazzling white marble of the mausoleum itself rising over the red wall, is apt, at first sight, to make a disagreeable impression, from the idea of a whitewashed head to an unfinished building; but this impression is very soon removed, and tends perhaps to improve that which is afterwards received from a nearer inspection. The marble was all brought from the Jeypore territories upon wheeled carriages, a distance, I believe, of two or three hundred miles; and the sandstone from the neighbourhood of Dholepore and Futtehpoore Secree. Shah Jehan is said to have inherited his partiality for this colour from his grandfather, Akbar, who constructed almost all his buildings from the same stone, though he might have had the beautiful white freestone at the same cost. What was figuratively said of Augustus may be most literally said of Shah Jehan; he found the cities (Agra and Delhi) all brick, and left them all marble; for all the marble buildings, and additions to buildings, were formed by him.

This magnificent building and the palaces at Agra and Delhi were, I believe, designed by Austin de Bordeaux. a Frenchman of great talent and merit, in whose ability and integrity the Emperor placed much reliance. He was called by the natives Oostan Eesau, Nadir ol Asur, the wonderful of the age; and for his office of nuksha nuwees, or plan drawer, he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month, with occasional presents; that made his income very large. He had finished the palace of Delhi, and the mausoleum and palace of Agra; and was engaged in designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries in the latter, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. He died at Cochin on his way back; and is supposed to have been poisoned by the Portuguese, who were extremely jealous of his influence at court. He left a son by a native, called Mahomed Shureef, who was employed as an architect on a salary of five hundred rupees a month, and who became, as I conclude from his name, a Mussulman. Shah Jehan had commenced his own tomb on the opposite side of the Jumna; and both were to have been united by a bridge. The death of Austin de Bordeaux, and the wars between his sons that followed, prevented the completion of these magnificent works.*

We were encamped upon a fine green sward outside the entrance to the south, in a kind of large court, enclosed by a high cloistered wall, in which all our attendants and followers found shelter. Colonel and Mrs. King, and some other gentlemen, were encamped in the same place, and for the same purpose; and we had a very agreeable party. The band of our friend Major

* I would not be thought very positive upon this point. I think I am right, but feel that I may be wrong. Tavernier says, that Shah Jehan was obliged to give up his intention of completing a silver ceiling to the great hall in the palace. because Austin de Bordeaux had been killed, and no other person could venture to attempt it. Oostan Eesau, in all the Persian accounts stands first among the salaried architects.

Godby's regiment played sometimes in the evening upon the terrace of the Taj ; but of all the complicated music ever heard upon earth, that of a flute blown gently in the vault below, where the remains of the Emperor and his consort repose, as the sound rises to the dome amidst a hundred arched alcoves around, and descends in heavenly reverberations upon those who sit or recline upon the cenotaphs above the vault is perhaps the finest to an inartificial ear. We feel as if it were from heaven, and breathed by angels ; it is to the ear what the building itself is to the eye ; but unhappily it cannot, like the building, live in our recollections. All that we can, in after life, remember is, that it was heavenly, and produced heavenly emotions.

We went all over the palace in the fort, a very magnificent building constructed by Shah Jehan, within fortifications raised by his grandfather Akbar. The fret-work and mosaic upon the marble pillars and panels are equal to those of the Taj, or, if possible, superior ; nor is the design or execution in any respect inferior, and yet an European feels, that he could get a house much more commodious, and more to his taste, for a much less sum than must have been expended upon it. The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful of the marble baths of this palace to send home to George IV. of England, then Prince Regent ; and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fret-work and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down and sold in the same manner.

We visited the Motee Musjid, or pearl mosque. It was built by Shah Jehan, entirely of white marble ; and completed, as we learn from an inscription on the portico, in the year A. D. 1656.

There is no mosaic upon any of the pillars or panels of this mosque ; but the design and execution of the flowers in bas-relief are exceedingly beautiful. It is a chaste, simple, and majestic building ; and is by some people admired even more than the Taj, because they have heard less of it ; and their pleasure is heightened by surprise. We feel that it is to all other mosques, what the Taj is to all other mausoleums, a *facile princeps*. Few, however, go to see the mosque of pearls more than once, stay as long as they will at Agra ; and when they go, the building appears less and less to deserve their admiration, while they go to the Taj as often as they can, and find new beauties in it, or new feelings of pleasure from it, every time.*

I went out to visit the tomb of the Emperor Akbar, at Secundra, a magnificent building, raised over him by his son, the Emperor Jehangeer. His remains lie deposited in a deep vault under the centre, and are covered by a plain slab of marble, without fret-work or mosaic. On the top of the building, which is three or four stories high, is another marble slab corresponding with the one in the vault below. This is beautifully carved, with the " Now Nubbey Nām "—the ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity—from the Koran. It is covered by a awning, not to protect the tomb, but to defend the "*words of God*" from the rain, as my cicerone assured me. He told me that the attendants upon this tomb used to have the hay of the large quadrangle of forty acres, in which it stands, in addition to their small salaries, and that it yielded them some fifty rupees a year ; but the chief native

* I would, however, here enter my humble protest against the quadrille and tiffin parties, which are sometimes given to the European ladies and gentlemen of the station at this imperial tomb : drinking and dancing are, no doubt, very good things in their season, even in a hot climate, but they are sadly out of place in a sepulchre, and never fail to shock the good feelings of sober-minded people when given there. Good church music gives us great pleasure, without exciting us to dancing or drinking ; the Taj does the same, at least to the sober-minded.

officer of the Taj establishment demanded half of the sum, and when they refused to give him so much, he persuaded his master, the European engineer, *with much difficulty*, to take all this hay for the public cattle ; “ And why could you not adjust such a matter between you, without pestering the engineer ? ” “ Is not this the way,” said he, with emotion, “ that Hindoostan has cut its own throat, and brought in the stranger at all times ? Have they ever had, or can they ever have, confidence in each other, or let each other alone to enjoy the little they have in peace ? Considering all the circumstances of time and place, Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns, what Shakspeare was among poets ; and, feeling as a citizen of the world, I revered the marble slab that covers his bones, more perhaps than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted.



CHAPTER IV.

NOOR JEHAN, THE AUNT OF THE EMPRESS NOOR MAHUL, OVER WHOSE
REMAINS THE TAJ IS BUILT.

I CROSSED over the river Jumna one morning to look at the tomb of Etmad od Doulah, the most remarkable mausoleum in the neighbourhood, after those of Akbar and the Taj. On my way back, I asked one of the boatmen, who was rowing me, who had built what appeared to me a new dome within the fort.

"One of the Emperors, of course," said he.

"What makes you think so?"

"Because such things are made only by Emperors," replied the man quietly, without relaxing his pull at the oar.

"True, very true!" said an old Mussulman trooper, with large white whiskers and mustachios, who had dismounted to follow me across the river, with a melancholy shake of the head, "very true; who but Emperors could do such things as these?"

Encouraged by the trooper, the boatman continued: "The Jats and the Mahrattas did nothing but pull down and destroy, while they held their *accursed dominion* here; and the European gentlemen, who now govern, seem to have no pleasure in building anything but *factories, courts of justice, and jails.*"

Feeling as an Englishman, as we all must sometimes do, be where we will, I could hardly help wishing that the beautiful panels and pillars of the bath-room had fetched a better price, and that palace, Taj, and all at Agra, had gone to the hammer--so sadly do they exalt the past, at the expense of the present, in the imaginations of the people!

The tomb contains, in the centre, the remains of Khwaja Aeeas, one of the most prominent characters of the reign of Jehangeer, and those of his wife. The remains of the other members of his family repose in rooms all round them; and are covered with slabs of marble richly cut. It is an exceedingly beautiful building; but a great part of the most valuable stones of the mosaic work have been picked out and stolen; and the whole is about to be sold by auction, by a decree of the civil court, to pay the debt of the present proprietor, who is entirely unconnected with the family whose members repose under it, and especially indifferent as to what becomes of their bones. The building and garden in which it stands were, some sixty years ago, given away, I believe, by Nujeef Khan, the prime minister, to one of his nephews, to whose family it still belongs. Khwaja Aeeas, a native of western Tartary, left that country for India, where he had some relations at the imperial court, who seemed likely to be able to secure his advancement. He was a man of handsome person, and of good education and address. He set out with his wife, a bullock, and a small sum of money, which he realized by the sale of all his other property. The wife, who was pregnant, rode upon the bullock, while he walked by her side. Their stock of money had become exhausted, and they had been three days without food in the great desert, when she was taken in labour, and gave birth to a daughter. The mother could hardly keep her seat on the bullock, and the father had become too much exhausted to afford her any support; and in their distress they agreed to abandon the infant. They covered it over with leaves, and towards evening pursued their journey. When they had gone on about a mile, and had lost sight of the solitary shrub under which they had left their child, the mother, in an agony of grief, threw herself from the bullock upon the ground, exclaiming, "My child, my child!" Aeeas could not resist this appeal. He went back to the spot, took up his child, and brought it to its mother's breast.

Some traveller soon after came up and relieved their distress, and they reached Lahore, where the Emperor Akbar then held his court.

Asuf Khan, a distant relation of Aecas, held a high place at court, and was much in the confidence of the Emperor. He made his kinsman his private secretary. Much pleased with his diligence and ability, Asuf soon brought his merits to the special notice of Akbar, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse, and soon after appointed him master of the household. From this he was promoted afterwards to that of Etmad-od Doulah, or high treasurer, one of the first ministers. The daughter, who had been born in the desert, became celebrated for her great beauty, parts, and accomplishments, and won the affections of the eldest son of the Emperor, the prince Saleem, who saw her unveiled, by accident, at a party given by her father. She had been betrothed before this to Shere Afgun, a Toorkaman gentleman of rank at court, and of great repute for his high spirit, strength, and courage. Saleem in vain entreated his father to interpose his authority to make him resign his claim in his favour; and she became the wife of Shere Afgun. Saleem dared not, during his father's life, make any open attempt to revenge himself; but he, and those courtiers who thought it their interest to worship the rising sun, soon made his residence at the capital disagreeable, and he retired with his wife to Bengal, where he obtained from the governor the superintendency of the district of Burdwan.

Saleem succeeded his father on the throne; and no longer restrained by his rigid sense of justice, he recalled Shere Afgun to court at Delhi. He was promoted to high offices, and concluded that time had erased from the Emperor's mind all feelings of love for his wife, and of resentment against his successful rival—but he was mistaken; Saleem had never forgiven him, nor had the desire to possess his wife at all diminished. A Mahomedan of such high feeling and station would, the Emperor knew, never sur-

vire the dishonour, or suspected dishonour, of his wife; and to possess her he must make away with the husband. He dared not do this openly, because he dreaded the universal odium in which he knew it would involve him; and he made several unsuccessful attempts to get him removed, by means that might not appear to have been contrived or executed by his orders. At one time he designedly, in his own presence, placed him in a situation where the pride of the chief made him contend, single handed, with a large tiger, which he killed; and at another with a mad elephant, whose probosces he cut off with his sword; but the Emperor's motives in all these attempts to put him foremost in situations of danger, became so manifest, that Shere Afgun solicited, and obtained permission, to retire with his wife to Bengal.

The governor of this province, Kutub, having been made acquainted with the Emperor's desire to have the chief made away with, hired forty ruffians, who stole into his house one night. There happened to be nobody else in the house; but one of the party, touched by remorse on seeing so fine a man about to be murdered in his sleep, called out to him to defend himself. He seized his sword, placed himself in one corner of the room, and defended himself so well, that nearly one-half of the party are said to have been killed or wounded. The rest all made off, persuaded that he was endowed with supernatural force. After this escape he retired from Tanda, the capital of Bengal, to his old residence of Burdwan. Soon after Kutub came to the city with a splendid retinue, on the pretence of making his tour of inspection through the provinces under his charge, but, in reality, for the sole purpose of making away with Shere Afgun, who, as soon as he heard of his approach, came out some miles to meet him on horseback, attended by only two followers. He was received with marks of great consideration, and he and the governor rode on for some time side by side, talking of their mutual friends, and the happy days they had spent together at the

capital. At last, as they were about to enter the city, the governor suddenly called for his elephant of state, and mounted, saying, "it would be necessary for him to pass through the city, on the first visit, in some state." Shere sat on horseback while he mounted, but one of the governor's pikemen struck his horse, and began to drive him before them. Shere drew his sword, and seeing all the governor's followers with their's ready drawn to attack him, he concluded at once that the affront had been put upon him by the orders of Kutub, and with the design to provoke him to an unequal fight. Determined to have his life first, he spurred his horse upon the elephant, and killed Kutub with his spear. He now attacked the principal officers, and five noblemen of the first rank fell by his sword. All the crowd now rolled back, and formed a circle round Shere and his two companions, and galled them with arrows and musket-balls from a distance. His horse fell under him and expired; and having received six balls and several arrows in his body, Shere himself at last fell exhausted to the ground; and the crowd, seeing the sword drop from his grasp, rushed in and cut him to pieces.


His widow was sent, "nothing loth," to court, with her only child, (a daughter.) She was graciously received by the Emperor's mother, and had apartments assigned her in the palace; but the Emperor himself is said not to have seen her for four years, during which time the fame of her beauty, talents, and accomplishments, filled the palace and city. After the expiration of this time, the feelings, whatever they were, which prevented his seeing her subsided; and when he at last surprised her with a visit, he found her to exceed all that his imagination had painted her since their last separation. In a few days their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence; and from that hour the Emperor resigned the reins of government almost entirely into her hands; and till his death, under the name first of Noor mahul, light of the palace, and afterwards of Noor Jehan, light of the world, she ruled the

destinies of this great empire. Her father was now raised from the station of high treasurer to that of prime minister. Her two brothers obtained the titles of Asuf Jah and Ilkad Khan ; and the relations of the family poured in from Tartary, in search of employment, as soon as they heard of their success. Noor Jehan had by Shere Afgun, as I have stated, one daughter ; but she had never any child by the Emperor Jehangeer.

Asuf Jah became prime minister on the death of his father ; and, in spite of his sister, he managed to secure the crown to Shah Jehan, the third son of Jehangeer, who had married his daughter, the lady over whose remains the Taj was afterwards built. Jehangeer's eldest son, Khosroo, had his eyes put out by his father's orders, for repeated rebellions to which he had been instigated by a desire to revenge his mother's murder, and by the ambition of her brother, the Hindoß prince Man Sing, who wished to see his own nephew upon the throne ; and by his wife's father, the prime minister of Akbar, Khan Azim. Noor Jehan had invited the mother of Khosroo, the sister of Rajah Man Sing, to look with her down a well in the courtyard of her apartments by moonlight ; and as she did so she threw her in. As soon as she saw that she had ceased to struggle she gave the alarm, and pretended that she had fallen in by accident. By the murder of the mother of the heir apparent, she expected to secure the throne to a creature of her own. Khosroo was treated with great kindness by his father, after he had been barbarously deprived of his sight ; but when his brother, Shah Jehan, was appointed to the government of southern India, he pretended great solicitude about the comforts of his *poor blind brother*, which he thought would not be attended to at court, and took him with him to his government in the Deccan, where he got him assassinated, as the only sure mode of securing the throne to himself. Purwez, the second son, died a natural death, so also did his only son ; and so also Daneaal, the fourth son of the Emperor. Noor Jehan's daughter, by Shere

Afgun, had married Shahreear, a young son of the Emperor, by a concubine ; and just before his death, he, at the instigation of Noor Jehan, named this son as his successor in his will. He was placed upon the throne, and put in possession of the treasury, and at the head of a respectable army ; but the Empress' brother, Asuf, designed the throne for his own son-in-law, Shan Jehan ; and as soon as the Emperor died, he put up as a puppet, to amuse the people till he could come up with his army from the Deccan, Bolakee, the eldest son of the deceased Khosroo. Shahreear's troops were defeated ; he was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out forthwith ; and the Empress was put into close confinement. As Shah Jehan approached Lahore with his army, Asuf put his puppet, Bolakee, and his younger brother, with the two young sons of Daneel, into prison, where they were strangled by a messenger sent on for the purpose by Shah Jehan, under the sanction of Asuf. This measure left no male heir alive of the house of Tamerlane in Hindoostan, save Shah Jehan himself, and his four sons. Dara was then thirteen years of age, Shoojah twelve, Ourungzebe ten, and Moorad four ; and all were present, to learn from their father this sad lesson, that such of them who might be alive on his death, save one, must, with their sons, be hunted down and destroyed like mad dogs, lest they might get in to the hands of the disaffected, and be made the tools of faction. Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Agra, as I have before stated, in 1666, says, "Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand christian families in Agra ; but all do not agree in that. The Dutch have a factory in the town, but the English have now none, because it did not turn to account." The number must have been great, or so sober a man as Monsieur, Thevenot would not have thought such an estimate worthy to be quoted without contradiction. They were all, except those connected with the single Dutch factory, maintained from the salaries of office ; and they gradually disappeared as their offices became

filled with Mahomedans and Hindoos. The duties of the artillery, its arsenals, and foundries, were the chief foundation upon which the superstructure of Christianity then stood in India. These duties were everywhere entrusted exclusively to Europeans, and all Europeans were Christians, and under Shah Jehan permitted freely to follow their own modes of worship. They were, too, Roman Catholics, and spent the greater part of their incomes in the maintenance of priests. But they could never forget that they were strangers in the land, and held their offices upon a precarious tenure; and, consequently, they never felt disposed to expend the little wealth they had in raising durable tombs, churches, and other public buildings, to tell posterity who or what they were. Present physical enjoyment, and the prayers of their priests for a good berth in the next world, were the only objects of their ambition. Mahomedans and Hindoos soon learned to perform duties which they saw bring to the Christians so much of honour and emolument; and as they did so, they necessarily sapped the walls of the fabric. Christianity never became independent of office in India, and I am afraid never will: even under our rule it still mainly rests upon that foundation.



CHAPTER V.

FATHER GREGORY'S NOTION OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO CONVERSION IN
INDIA—INABILITY OF EUROPEANS TO SPEAK EASTERN LANGUAGES.

FATHER GREGORY, the Roman Catholic priest, dined with us one evening, and Major Godby took occasion to ask him at table, "What progress our religion was making among the people?"

"Progress!" said he; "why what progress can we ever hope to make among a people, who, the moment we begin to talk to them about the miracles performed by Christ, begin to tell us of those infinitely more wonderful performed by Krishna, who lifted a mountain upon his little finger, as an umbrella, to defend his shepherdesses, at Gwerdham, from a shower of rain."

The Hindoos never doubt any part of the miracles and prophecies of our scripture—they believe every word of them; and the only thing that surprises them is, that they should be so much less wonderful than those of their own scriptures, in which also they implicitly believe. Men who believe that the histories of the wars and amours of Ram and Krishna, two of the incarnations of Vishnoo, were written some fifty thousand years before these wars and amours actually took place upon the earth, would of course easily believe in the fulfilment of any prophecy that might be related to them out of any other book; and, as to miracles, there is absolutely nothing too extraordinary for their belief. If a Christian of respectability were to tell a Hindoo, that, to satisfy some scruples of the Corinthians, St. Paul had brought the sun and moon down upon the earth, and made them rebound off again into their places, like tennis balls, without the slightest injury to

any of the three planets, I do not think he would feel the slightest doubt of the truth of it; but he would immediately be put in mind of something still more extraordinary that Krishna did to amuse the milk-maids, or to satisfy some sceptics of his day, and relate it with all the *naivete* imaginable.

I saw at Agra, Mirza Kam Buksh, the eldest son of Sooleeman Shekoh, the eldest son of the brother of the present Emperor. He had spent a season with us at Jubbulpore, while prosecuting his claim to an estate against the Raja of Rewah. The Emperor, Shah Alum, in his flight before our troops from Bengal, 1762, struck off the high road to Delhi, at Mirzapore, and came down to Rewah, where he found an asylum during the season of the rains with the Rewah Rajah, who assigned for his residence the village of Mukunpore. His wife, the empress, was here delivered of a son, the present Emperor of Hindoostan, Akbar Shah; and the Rajah assigned to him and to his heirs for ever the *fee simple* of this village. As the members of this family increased in geometrical ratio, under the new system, which gave them plenty to eat with nothing to do, the Emperor had of late been obliged to hunt round for little additions to his income; and in his search he found that the village of Mukunpore gave name to a pergunnah or little district, of which it was the capital; and that a good deal of merchandize passed through this district, and paid heavy duties to the Rajah. "Nothing," he thought, "would be lost by trying to get the whole district instead of the village;" and for this purpose he sent down Kam Buksh, the ablest man of the whole family, to urge and prosecute his claim; but the Rajah was a close, shrewd man, and not to be *done out* of his revenue, and Kam Baksh was obliged to return minus some thousand rupees, which he had spent in attempting to keep up appearances.

The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mahomedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of

life. A Mahomedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy ; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avacenna, or as they call him, Booalee Shena ; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have ; and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mahomedan gentlemen of education, upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people ; the arts and the sciences ; the faculties and operations of the human mind ; and the thousand other things which are subjects of every day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my ideas ; but these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them ; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can ; but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency, is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant—this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it !

We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their sepahes and native officers about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill ; or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field ; and as long as they are understood, they

care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range ; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas ; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking, without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment, to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest, in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspire us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them. We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, on the bench, and in the senate ! Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imamod Deen, Ghuzzalee, and Nuseerod Deen, of Thons. Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle.

I may here mention the following among many instances that occur to me of the amusing mistakes into which Europeans are liable to fall in their conversation with natives.

Mr. J. W——n, of the Bengal civil service, commonly known by the name of Bean W——, was the honourable Company's opium agent at Patna, when I arrived at Dinapore, to join my regiment, in 1810. He had a splendid house, and lived in excellent style ; and was never so happy as when he had a dozen young men from the Dinapore cantonments living with him. He complained that

year, as I was told, that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon the opium, purchased by the government from the cultivators. The members of the civil service, in the other branches of public service, were all anxious to have it believed by their countrymen, that they were well acquainted with their duties, and able and willing to perform them; but the honourable Company's commercial agents were, on the contrary, generally anxious to make their countrymen believe that they neither knew nor cared anything about their duties, because they were ashamed of them. They were sinecure posts for the drones of the service, or for those who had great interest and no capacity. Had any young man made it appear that he really thought W—n knew cared anything about his duties, he would certainly or never have been invited to his house again; and if any one really knew, certainly no one seemed to know, that he had any other duty than that of entertaining his guests!

No man ever spoke the native language so badly, because no man had ever so little intercourse with the natives; and it was, I have been told, to his ignorance of the native languages, that his bosom friend, Mr. P——st, owed his life on one occasion. W. sat by the sick bed of his friend with unwearied attention, for some days and nights, after the doctors had declared his case entirely hopeless. He proposed at last to t^he change of air, and take him on the river Ganges. The doctors, thinking that he might as well die in his boat on the river, as in his house in Calcutta, consented to his taking him on board. They got up as far as Hoogly, when P. said that he felt better, and thought he could eat something. What should it be? A little roasted kid perhaps. The very thing that he was longing for! W. went out upon the deck to give orders for the kid, that his friend might not be disturbed by the gruff voice of the old "Khansaiha," (butler.) P. heard the conversation, however. "Khansama," said the Bean

W., "you know that my friend Mr. P. is very ill?"

"Yes sir."

"And that he has not eaten anything for a month?"

"A long time for a man to fast, sir."

"Yes, Khansama, and his stomach is now become every delicate, and could not stand anything strong."

"Certainly not, sir."

"Well, Khansama, then he has taken a fancy to a roasted mare," (Murdwan,) meaning a Hulwan, or kid.

"A roasted mare, sir!"

"Yes, Khansama, a roasted mare, which you must have nicely prepared."

"What the whole, sir?"

"Not the whole at one time; but have the whole ready, as there is no knowing what part he may like best."

The old butler had heard of the Tartars eating their horses when in robust health, but the idea of a sick man, not able to move in his bed without assistance, taking a fancy to a roasted mare, quite staggered him.

"But, sir, I may not be able to get such a thing as a mare at so short a notice; and if I get her she will be very dear."

"Never mind, Khansama, get you the mare, cost what she will; if she costs a thousand rupees my friend shall have her! He has taken a fancy to the mare, and the mare he shall have, if she cost a thousand rupees!"

The butler made his salaam, said he would do his best, and took his leave, requesting that the boats might be kept at the bank of the river till he came back.

W. went into his sick friend, who, with great difficulty, managed to keep his countenance while he complained of the liberties old servants were in the habit of taking with their masters. "They think themselves privileged," said W., "to conjure up difficulties in the way of everything that one wants to have done."

"Yes," said P——st, "we like to have old and faithful servants about us, particularly when we are sick ; but they are apt to take liberties, which new ones will not."

In about two hours, the butler's approach was announced from the deck, and W. walked out to scold him for his delay. The old gentleman was coming down over the bank, followed by about eight men bearing the four quarters of an old mare. The butler was very fat ; and the proud consciousness of having done his duty, and met his master's wishes in a very difficult and important point, had made him a perfect Falstaff. He marshalled his men in front of the cooking-boat, and then came towards his master, who for some time stood amazed, and unable to speak. At last he roared out—"And what the devil have you here ?

"Why the mare that the sick gentleman took a fancy for ; and dear enough she has cost me ; not a farthing less than two hundred rupees would the fellow take for his mare."

P——st could contain himself no longer ; he burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, during which the abscess in his liver burst into the intestines, and he felt himself suddenly relieved as if by enchantment. The mistake was rectified—he got his kid ; and in ten days he was taken back to Calcutta a sound man, to the great astonishment of all the doctors.

During the first campaign against Nepaul, in 1815, Colonel, now Major-General O. H., who commanded the——regiment, N. I. had to march with his regiment through the town of Durbunga, the capital of the Rajah, who came to pay his respects to him. He brought a number of presents, but the colonel, a high-minded, amiable man, never took anything himself, nor suffered any person in his camp to do so in the districts they passed through without paying for it. He politely declined to take anything of the presents ; but said, "that he had heard that Durbunga produced *crows*, (Konwas), and should be glad to get some of them if the Rajah could spare them"—meaning *coffee* or *Quhooa*.

The Rajah stared, and said, "that certainly they had abundance of crows in Durbunga ; but he thought they were equally abundant in all parts of India."

" Quite the contrary, Rajah Sahib, I assure you," said the colonel ; " there is not such a thing as a crow to be found in any part of the Company's dominions that I have seen, and I have been all over them."

" Very strange," said the Rajah, turning round to his followers.

" Yes," replied they, " it is very strange, Rajah Sahib ; but such is your Ikkal, (good fortune,) and the blessings of your rule, that everything thrives under it ; and if the colonel should wish to have a few crows we could easily collect them for him."

" If," said the colonel, greatly delighted, " you could provide us with a few of these crows, we should really feel very much obliged to you ; for we have a long and cold campaign before us among the bleak hills of Nepaul ; and we are all fond of crows."

" Indeed," returned the Rajah ; " I shall be happy to send you as many as you wish." (Much and many is expressed by the same term.)

" Then we should be glad to have two or three bags full, if it would not be robbing you."

" Not in the least," said the Rajah ; " I will go home and order them to be collected immediately."

In the evening, as the officers, with the colonel at their head, were sitting down to dinner, a man came up to announce the arrival of the Rajah's present. Three fine large bags were brought in, and the colonel requested that one might be opened immediately. It was opened accordingly, and the mess butler (Khansama) drew out by the legs a fine old crow. The colonel immediately saw the mistake, and laughed as heartily as the rest at the result. A polite message was sent to the Rajah, requesting that he would

excuse his having made it—for he had had a dozen men out shooting crows all day with their matchlocks. Few Europeans spoke the language better than General—, and I do not believe that one European in a thousand, at this moment, makes any difference, or knows any difference, in the sound of the two terms.

Kam Buksh had one sister married to the king of Oude, and another to Mirza Suleem, the younger son of the Emperor. Mirza Suleem and his wife could not agree, and a separation took place, and she went to reside with her sister, the Queen of Oude. The king saw her frequently; and finding her more beautiful than his wife, he demanded her also in marriage from her father, who resided at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, on a pension of five thousand rupees a month from the King. He would not consent, and demanded his daughter; the King, finding her willing to share his bed and board with her sister, would not give her up. The father got his old friend, Colonel Gardiner, who had married a Mahomedan woman of rank, to come down and plead his cause. The king gave up the young woman; but at the same time stopped the father's pension, and ordered him and all his family out of his dominions. He set out with Colonel Gardiner and his daughter, on his road to Delhi, through Khasgunge, the residence of the colonel, who was one day recommending the prince to seek consolation for the loss of his pension in the proud recollection of having saved the honour of the *house of Tamerlane*, when news was brought to them that the daughter had run off from camp with his, Colonel Gardiner's, son James, who had accompanied him to Lucknow. The prince and the colonel mounted their horses, and rode after him; but they were so much heavier and older than the young ones, that they soon gave up the chase in despair. Sooleeman Shekoh insisted upon the colonel immediately fighting him, after the fashion of the English, with swords or pistols, but was soon persuaded that the honour of the house of Tymour would be much better preserved by allowing the offending

parties to marry.* The King of Oude was delighted to find that the old man had been so punished ; and the queen no less so to find herself so suddenly and unexpectedly relieved from all dread of her sister's return. All parties wrote to my friend Kam Buksh, who was then at Jubbulpore ; and he came off with their letters to me, to ask whether I thought the incident might not be turned to account in getting the pension for his father restored.

* The colonel's son has succeeded to his father's estates, and he and his wife are, I believe, very happy together.



CHAPTER VI.



FUTTEHPORE SECREE—THE EMPEROR AKBAR'S PILGRIMAGE—BIRTH OF
JEHANGEEER.

ON the 6th January we left Agra, which soon after became the residence of the Governor of the north-western provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe. It was when I was there the residence of a civil commissioner, a judge, a magistrate, a collector of land revenue, a collector of customs, and all their assistants and establishments. A brigadier commands the station, which contained a park of artillery, one regiment of European, and four regiments of native infantry. Near the artillery practice-ground, we passed the tomb of Jodha Bae, the wife of the Emperor Akbar and the mother of Jehangeer. She was of Rajpoot caste, daughter of the Hindoo chief of Joudhpore, a very beautiful, and it is said a very amiable woman. The Mogul Emperors, though Mahomedans, were then in the habit of taking their wives from among the Rajpoot princes of the country, with a view to secure their allegiance. The tomb itself is in ruins, having only part of the dome standing, and the walls and magnificent gateways that at one time surrounded it have been all taken away and sold by a *thrifty* government, or appropriated to purpose of more practical utility. I have heard many Mahomedans say, that they could trace the decline of their empire in Hindoostan to the loss of the Rajpoot blood in the veins of their princes. Better blood than that of the Rajpoots of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings; or, what is the same thing, no blood

was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination; and the imagination is all powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebeianised by the battle of Hastings; and how difficult would it be for any of us to say from which we descended, the Britons or the Saxons—the Danes or the Normans; or in what particular action our ancestors were the victors or the vanquished, and became ennobled or plebeianised by the thousand accidents which influence the fate of battles! A series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours will commonly give a nation a notion that they are superior in courage; and pride will make them attribute this superiority to blood—that is, to an old date. This was perhaps never more exemplified than in the case of the Gorkhas of Nepaul, a small diminutive race of men, not much unlike the Huns, but certainly as brave as any men can possibly be. A Gorkha thought himself equal to any four other men of the hills, though they were all much stronger; just as a Dane thought himself equal to four Saxons at one time in Britain. The men of the hills began to think that he really was so, and could not stand before him.

We passed many wells from which the people were watering their fields; and found those which yielded a brackish water were considered to be much more valuable for irrigation than those which yielded sweet water. It is the same in the valley of the

Nurbudda ; but brackish water does not suit some soils and some crops. On the 8th wereached Futtehpore Secree, which lies about twenty-four miles from Agra, and stands upon the back of a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, rising abruptly from the alluvial plains, to the heighest about one hundred and fifty feet ; and extends three miles north—north-east, and south—south-west. This place owes its celebrity to a Mahomedan saint, the Sheikh Saleem of Cheest, a town in Persia, who owed his to the following circumstance. The Emperor Akbar's sons had all died in infancy and he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the celebrated Main-odeen of Cheest, at Ajmere. He and his family went all the way in foot at the rate of three koos or four miles a day, distance of about three hundred and fifty mles. Kannats, or cloth walls, were raised on each side of the road, carpets spread over it, and high towers of burnt bricks erected at every stage, to mark the places where he rested. On reaching the shrine, he made a supplication to the saint, who at night appeared to him *in his sleep*, and recommended him to go and entreat the intercession of a very holy old man, who lived a secluded life upon the top of the little range of hills at Secree. He went accordingly, and was assured by the old man, then ninty-six years of age, that the Empress Jodha Bae, the daughter of a Hindoo prince, would be delivered of a son, who would live to a good old age. She was then pregnant, and remained in the vicinity of the old man's hermitage till her confinement, which took place 31st of August 1569. The infant was called after the hermit, Mirza Saleem ; and became in time Emperor of Hindoostan, under the name of Jehangeer. It was to this Emperor, Jehangeer that Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, was sent from the English court. Akbar, in order to secure to himself, his family, and his people, the advantage of the continued intercessions of so holy a man, took up his residence at Secree, and covered the hill with magnificent buildings for himself, his courtiers, and his public establishments.

The quadrangle which contains the mosque on the west side, and tomb of the old hermit in the centre, was completed in the year 1578, six years before his death; and is perhaps one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within. On the outside, is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide. This gateway is no doubt extremely grand and beautiful; but what strikes one most is, the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided—there seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through, and walk he must unless he is carried through, on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock could ascend over the flight of steps. In all these places the stair-cases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small; they look as if they were made for rats to crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under! One of the most interesting sights, was the immense swarms of swallows flying round the thick bed of nests that occupy the apex of the arch; and to the spectators below, they look precisely like a swarm of bees round a large honeycomb. I quoted a passage in the Koran in praise of the swallows, and asked the guardians of the place, whether they did not think themselves happy in having such swarms of sacred birds over their heads all day long? "No at all," said they; "they oblige us to sweep the gateway ten times a day, but there is no getting at their nests, or we should soon get rid of them." They then told me that the sacred bird of the Koran was the abadeel or large black swallow, and not the purtadeel, a little piebald thing

of no religious merit whatever.* On the right side of the entrance is engraven on stone in large letters standing, out in bas relief, the following passage in Arabic: "Jesus, on whom be peace, has said, the world is merely a bridge; you are to pass over it, and not to build your dwellings upon it." Where this saying of Christ is to be found, I know not; nor has any Mahomedan yet been able to tell me; but the quoting of such a passage, in such a place, is a proof of the absence of all bigotry on the part of Akbar.

The tomb of Sheikh Saleem, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. The man who guards it told me, that the Jâts, while they reigned, robbed this tomb as well as those at Agra, of some of the most beautiful and valuable portion of the mosaic work. "But," said he, "they were well plundered in their turn by your troops at Bhurtpore! retribution always follows the wicked sooner or later." † He showed us the little roof of stone tiles, close to the original little dingy mosque of the old hermit, where the Empress gave birth to Jehangeer; and told us, that she was a very sensible woman, whose counjils had great weight with the Emperor. ‡ "His

* See the 105th chapter of the Koran. "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the elephant? Did he not make their teacherous designs an occasion of drawing them into error; and send against them flocks of swallows which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and rendered them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle?"

† We besieged and took Bhurtpore in order to rescue the young prince our ally, from his uncle, who had forcibly assumed the office of prime minister to his nephew. As soon as we got possession, all the property we found belonging either to the nephew or the uncle, was declared to be prize money, and taken for the troops. The young prince was obliged to borrow an elephant from the prize agents to ride upon. He has ever since enjoyed the whole of the revenue of his large territory.

‡ The people of India, no doubt, owed much of the good they enjoyed under the long reign of Akbar, to this most excellent woman, who inspired

majesty's only fault was," he said, "an inclination to learn the art of magic, which was taught him by an old Hindoo religious mendicant," whose apartment near the palace he pointed out to us.

"Fortunately," said our cicorone, "the fellow died before the Emperor had learnt enough to practise the art without his aid."

not only her husband but the most able Mahomedan minister that India has ever had, with feelings of universal benevolence. It was from her that this great minister, Abdul Fazal, derived the spirit that dictated the following passages in his admirable work, the *Aeen Akberee*: "Every sect becomes infatuated with its particular doctrines; animosity and dissension prevail, and each man deeming the tenets of his sect to be the dictates of truth itself, aims at the destruction of all others, vilifies reputation, stains the earth with blood, and has the vanity to imagine that he is performing meritorious actions. Were the voice of reason attended to, mankind would be sensible of their error, and lament the weaknesses which led them to interfere in the religious concerns of each other. Persecution after all defeats its own end; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them.

"Summarily, the Hindoos are religious, affable, cautious to strangers, prone to inflict austerities on themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. This character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle: when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour. They have great respect for their tutors; and make no account of their lives when they can devote them to the service of their God.

"They consider the Supreme Being to be above all labour, and believe Brahmah to be the creator of the world, Visbnu its preserver, and Sewu its destroyer. But one sect believes that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under the three above-mentioned forms, without having been thereby polluted in the smallest degree, in the same manner as the Christians speak of the Messiah; others hold that all these were only human beings, who, on account of their sanctity and righteousness, were raised to these high dignities."

Sheikh Saleem had, he declared, gone more than twenty times on pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy prophet: and was not much pleased to have his repose so much disturbed by all the noise and bustle of the imperial court. At last, Akbar wanted to surround the hill by regular fortifications; and the Sheikh could stand it no longer. "Either you or I must leave this hill," said he to the Emperor; "if the efficacy of my prayers is no longer to be relied upon, let me depart in peace!" "If it be *your majesty's* will," replied the Emperor, "that one should go, let it be your slave, I pray!" The old story:—there is nothing like relying upon the efficacy of our prayers, say the priests—nothing like relying upon that of our sharp swords, say the soldiers; and as nations advance from barbarism, they generally contrive to divide between them the surplus produce of the land and labour of society. The old hermit consented to remain and pointed out Agra as a place which he thought would answer the Emperor's purpose extremely well! Agra, then an unpeopled waste, soon became a city, and Futtelhpore Secree was deserted. Cities which, like this, are maintained by the public establishment that attend and surround the courts of sovereign princes, must always, like this, become deserted when these sovereigns change their resting places. To the history of the rise and progress, decline and fall, of how many cities is this the key?

Close to the tomb of the saint, is another containing the remains of a great number of his descendants, who continue to enjoy, under the successors of Akbar, large grants of rent-free lands for their own support, and for that of the mosque and mausoleum. These grants have by degrees been nearly all resumed; and as the repair of the buildings is now entrusted to the public officers of our government, the surviving members of the saint's family, who still reside among the ruins, are extremely poor. What strikes an European most in going over these palaces of the Mogal Emperors is, the want of what a gentleman of fortune in

his own country would consider elegantly comfortable accommodations. Five hundred pounds a year would at the present day secure him more of this in any civilized country of Europe or America, than the greatest of those emperors could command. He would perhaps have the same impression in going over the domestic architecture of the most civilized nations of the ancient world, Persia and Egypt, Greece and Rome.



CHAPTER VII.

 BHURTPORE—DEEG—WANT OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THE MILITARY AND
 THE EDUCATED CLASSES UNDER THE COMPANY'S RULE.

OUR old friends, Mr. Charles Fraser, the commissioner of the Agra division, then on his circuit, and Major Godby, had come on with us from Agra, and made our party very agreeable. On the 9th, we went fourteen miles to Bhurtpore, over a plain of alluvial but seemingly poor soil, intersected by one low range of sandstone hills running north-east and south-west. The thick belt of jungle, three miles wide, with which the chiefs of Bhurtpore used to surround their fortress while they were freebooters, and always liable to be brought into collision with their neighbours, has been fast diminishing since the capture of the place by our troops in 1826; and will very soon disappear altogether, and give place to rich sheets of cultivation, and happy little village communities. Our tents had been pitched close outside the Mutra gate, near a small grove of fruit trees, which formed the left flank of the last attack on this fortress by Lord Combermere. Major Godby had been present during the whole siege; and as we went round the place in the evening on our elephants, he pointed out all the points of attack, and told all the anecdotes of the day that were interesting enough to be remembered for ten years. We went through the town, out at the opposite gate, and passed along the line of Lord Lake's attack in 1804. All the points of his attack were also pointed out to us by our cicerone, an old officer in the service of the Rajah. It happened to be the anniversary of the first attempt to storm, which was made on the 9th of January, thirty-one years before. One old

officer told us that he remembered Lord Lake sitting with three other gentlemen on chairs not more than half a mile from the ramparts of the fort.

The old man thought that the men of those days were quite a different sort of thing to the men of the present day, as well those who defended, as those who attacked the fort; and if the truth must be told, he thought that the European lords and gentlemen had fallen off in the same scale as the rest. "But" said the old man, "all these things are matter of destiny and providence. Upon that very bastion, (pointing to the right point of Lord Lake's attack,) stood a large twenty-four pounder, which was loaded and discharged three times by supernatural agency during one of your attacks—not a living soul was 'near it.' We all smiled incredulous; and the old man offered to bring a score of witnesses to the fact, men of unquestionable veracity! The left point of Lord Lake's attack was the Buldeo bastion, so called after Buldeo Sing, the second son of the then reigning chief, Runjeet Sing. He succeeded his father, and left the government to his adopted son, the present young chief, Bulwunt Sing. The feats which Hector performed in the defence of Troy sink into utter insignificance before those which Buldeo performed in the defence of Bhurtpore, according to the best testimony of the survivors of that great day. "But," said the old man, "he was of course, acting under supernatural influence; he condescended to measure swords only with Europeans;" and their bodies filled the whole bastion in which he stood, according to the belief of the people though no European entered it, I believe, during the whole siege. They pointed out to us where the different corps were posted. There was one corps which had signalized itself a good deal, but of which I had never before heard, though all around me seemed extremely well acquainted with it—this was the "*Untu Goor-goors*." At last Godby came to my side, and told me this was the name by which the Bombay troops were always known in Bengal;

though no one seemed to know whence it came. I am disposed to think that they derive it from the peculiar form of the caps of their sipahees, which are in form like the common hookah, called a goorgooree, with a small ball at the top, like an unta or tennis, or billiard ball; hence "Unta Goorgoors." The Bombay sipahees were, I am told, always very angry when they heard that they were known by this term—they have always behaved like good soldiers, and need not be ashamed of this or any other name.

The water in the lake, about a mile to the west of Bhurtpore, stands higher than the ground about the fortress; and a drain had been opened through which the water rushed in and filled the ditch all round the fort and great part of the plain to the south and east, before Lord Lake undertook the siege in 1804. This water might, I believe, have been taken off to the eastward into the Jumna, had the outlet been discovered by the engineers. An attempt was made to cut the same drain on the approach of Lord Combermere in 1826; but a party went on, and stopped the work before much water had passed, and the ditch was almost dry when the siege began.

The walls being all of mud and now dismantled, had a wretched appearance; and the town, which is contained within them, is, though very populous, a mere collection of wretched hovels; the only respectable habitation within is the palace, which consists of three detached buildings, one for the chief, another for the females of his family, and the third for his court of justice. I could not find a single trace of the European officers who had been killed here, either at the first or second siege, though I had been told that a small tomb had been built in a neighbouring grove over the remains of Brigadier-General, Edwards, who fell in the last storm. It is, I believe, the only one that has ever been raised. The scenes of battles fought by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, were commonly crowded with magnificent tombs built over the slain, and provided for a time with the means of

maintaining holy men who read the Koran over their graves. Not that this duty was necessary for the repose of their souls, for every 'Mahomedan killed in fighting against men who believed not in his prophet, no matter what the cause of quarrel, went, as a matter of course, to paradise; and every unbeliever, killed in the same action, went as surely to hell! There are only a few hundred men, exclusive of the prophets, who, according to Mahomed, have the first place in paradise—those who shared in one or other of his first three battles, and believed in his holy mission before they had the evidence of a single victory over the unbelievers to support it. At the head of these are the men who accompanied him in his flight from Mecca to Medina, when he had no evidence either from *victories* or *miracles*. In all such matters, the less the evidence adduced in proof of a mission the greater the merit of those who believe in it, according to the person who pretends to it; and unhappily, the less the evidence a man has for his faith, the greater is his anger against other men for not joining in it with him. No man gets very angry with another for not joining with him in his faith in the demonstration of a problem in mathematics. Man likes to think that he is on the way to heaven upon such easy terms; but gets angry at the notion that others won't join him, because they *may* consider him an imbecile for thinking that he is so. The Mahomedan generals and historians are sometimes almost as conceited as Cæsar himself in describing very conscientiously a battle of this kind; instead of I came, I saw, I conquered—it is, "ten thousand Mussulmans on that day tasted of the blessed fruit of paradise, after sending fifty thousand unbelievers to the flames of hell!"

On the 10th, we came on twelve miles to Koombeer, over a plain of poor soil, much impregnated with salt, and with some works in which salt is made, with solar evaporation. The earth is dug up—water filtered through it, and drawn off into small square beds, where it is evaporated by exposure to the solar heat. The

gate of this fort leading out to the road we came is called, modestly enough, after Koombeer, a place only ten miles distant; that leading to Mutra, three or four stages distant, is called the *Mutra gate*. At Delhi, the gates of the city wall are called ostentatiously after distant places; the *Cashmere* the *Cabool*, the *Constantinople gates*. Outside the Koombeer gate, I saw for the first time in my life, the well peculiar to upper India. It is built up in the form of a round tower or cylindrical shell, of burnt bricks, well cemented with good mortar, and covered inside and out with good stucco work; and let down by degrees, as the earth is removed by men at work in digging under the light earthy or sandy foundation inside and out. This well is about twenty feet below and twenty feet above the surface, and had to be built higher as it was let into the ground.

On the 11th, we came on twelve miles to Deeg, over a plain of poor and badly cultivated soil, which must be almost all under water in the rains. This was and still is the country seat of the Jats of Bhurtpore, who rose, as I have already stated, to wealth and power by aggressions upon their immediate neighbours, and the plunder of tribute on its way to the imperial capital, and of the baggage of passing armies during the contests for dominion that followed the death of the Emperors, and during the decline and fall of the empire. The Jâts found the morasses with which they were surrounded here a source of strength. They emigrated from the banks of the Indus about Multan, and took up their abode by degrees on the banks of the Jumna, and those of the Chumbul, from their confluence upwards; where they became cultivators and robbers upon a small scale, till they had the means to build garrisons, when they entered the lists with princes, who were only robbers upon a large scale. The Jâts, like the Mahrattas, rose by a feeling of nationality among a people who had none. Single laudholders were every day rising to principalities by means of their gangs of robbers; but they could seldom be cemented

under one common head by a bond of national feeling. They have a noble quadrangular garden at Deeg, surrounded by a high wall. In the centre of each of the four faces is one of the most beautiful Hindoo buildings for accommodation that I have ever seen, formed of a very fine grained sandstone brought from the quarries of Roopbas, which lie between thirty and forty miles to the south, and eight or ten miles south-west of Futtehpore Secree. These stones are brought in, in flags some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide and one thick, with sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The garden is four hundred and seventy-five feet long, by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on four sides leading up to the four buildings, each opening having from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading into them, an *avenue* of jets d'eau.

Deeg as much surpassed, as Bhutpore fell short of my expectations. I had seen nothing in India of architectural beauty to be compared with the buildings in this garden, except at Agra. The useful and the elegant are here everywhere happily blended; nothing seems disproportionate, or unsuitable to the purpose for which it was designed; and all that one regrets is, that so beautiful a garden should be situated in so vile a swamp! There was a general complaint among the people of the town of a want of rozgar, (employment,) and its fruit subsistence: the taking of Bhutpore had, they said, produced a sad change among them for the worse. Godby observed to some of the respectable men about us, who complained of this, "that happily their chief had now no enemy to employ them against." "But what," said they, "is a prince without an army? and why do you keep up yours now that all your enemies have been subdued?" "We want them," replied Godby, "to prevent our friends from cutting each other's throats, and to defend them all against a foreign enemy!" "True," said they, "but what are we to do who have nothing but our swords

to depend upon, now that our chief no longer wants us, and you won't take us?" "And what," said some shopkeepers, "are we to do who provided these troops with clothes, food, and furniture, which they can no longer afford to pay for? *Company ka umul men kooch rozgar nuheen*. Under the Company's dominion there is no employment." This is too true; we do the soldier's work with one-tenth of the soldiers that had before been employed in it over the territories we acquire, and turn the other nine-tenths adrift. They all sink into the lowest class of religious mendicants, or retainers; or live among their friends as drones upon the land; while the manufacturing, trading, and commercial industry that provided them with the comforts, conveniences, and elegances of life while they were in a higher grade of service, is in its turn thrown out of employment; and the whole frame of society becomes, for a time, deranged by the local diminution in the demand for *the services of men and the produce of their industry*. I say we do the soldier's work with one-tenth of the numbers that were formerly required for it. I will mention an anecdote to illustrate this. In the year 1816, I was marching with my regiment from the Nepaul frontier, after the war, to Allahabad. We encamped about four miles from a mud fort, in the kingdom of Oude, and heard the guns of the Amil, or chief of the district, playing all day upon this fort, from which his batteries were removed at least two miles. He had three regiments of infantry, a corps or two of cavalry, and a good park of artillery; while the garrison consisted of only about two hundred stout Rajpoot landholders and cultivators, or yeomen. In the evening, just as we had sat down to dinner, a messenger came to the commanding officer, Colonel Gregory, who was a member of the mess, from the said Amil, and begged permission to deliver his message in private. I, as the senior staff officer, was requested to hear what he had to say.

"What do you require from the commanding officer?"

"I require the loan of the regiment."

"I know the commanding officer will not let you have the regiment."

"If the Amil cannot get more, he will be glad to get two companies; and I have brought with me this bag of gold, containing some two or three hundred gold mohurs."

I delivered the message to Colonel Gregory, before all the officers, who desired me to say that he could not spare a single man, as he had no authority to assist the Amil, and was merely marching through the country to his destination. I did so. The man urged me to beg the commanding officer, if he could do no more, merely to halt the next day where he was, and lend the Amil the use of one of his drummers!

"And what will you do with him?"

"Why, just before daylight, we will take him down near one of the gates of the fort, and make him beat his drum as hard as he can; and the people within, thinking the whole regiment is upon them, will make out as fast as possible at the opposite gate."

"And the bag of gold, what is to become of that?"

"You and the old gentleman can divide it between you, and I will double it for you if you like."

I delivered the message before all the officers to their great amusement; and the poor man was obliged to carry back his bag of gold to the Amil. The Amil is the collector of the revenues in Oudh, and he is armed with all the powers of Government; and has generally several regiments and a train of artillery with him. The large landholders build these mud forts, which they defend by their Rajpoot cultivators, who are among the bravest men in the world. One hundred of them would never hesitate to attack a thousand of the king's regular troops, because they know the Amil would be ashamed to have any noise made about it at court; but they know also, that if they were to beat one hundred of the Company's troops, they would soon have a thousand upon them; and if they were to beat one thousand, that they would soon have

ten. They provide for the maintenance of those who are wounded in their flight, and for the widows and orphans of those who are killed. Their prince provides for neither, and his soldiers are in consequence somewhat chary of fighting. It is from this peasantry, the military cultivators of Oude, that our Bengal native infantry draws three out of four of its recruits, and finer young men for soldiers can hardly anywhere be found.

The advantage which arises to society from doing the soldier's duty with a small number, has never been sufficiently appreciated in India ; but it will become every day more and more manifest, as our dominion becomes more and more stable—for men who have lived by the sword do not in India like to live by anything else, or to see their children anything but soldiers. Under the former governments, men brought their own arms and horses to the service, and took them away with them again when discharged. The supply always greatly exceeded the demand for soldiers both in the cavalry and the infantry, and a very great portion of the men armed and accoutred as soldiers, were always without service, roaming over the country in search of it. To such men, the profession next in rank after that of the soldier robbing in the service of the sovereign, was that of the robber plundering on his own account. "*Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Ne arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri : pigrum quinimo et iners videre sudore adquire, quod possis sanguine parare.*" " War and rapine supply the prince with the means of his munificence. You cannot persuade the German to cultivate the fields and wait patiently for the harvest, so easily as you can to challenge the enemy and expose himself to honourable wounds. They hold it to be base and dishonourable to earn by the sweat of their brow what they might acquire by their blood."

The equestrian robber had his horse, and was called "Ghurasee," horse robber, a term which he never thought disgrace-

ful. The foot-robber under the native government stood in the same relation to the horse-robber as the foot soldier to the horse soldier, because the trooper furnished his own horses, arms and accoutrements, and considered himself a man of rank and wealth compared with the foot soldier ; both however had the wherewithal to rob the traveller on the highway ; and in the intervals between wars, the high roads were covered with them. There was a time in England, it is said, when the supply of clergymen was so great compared with the demand for them, from the undue stimulus given to clerical education, that it was not thought disgraceful for them to take to robbing on the highway ; and all the high roads were in consequence infested by them. How much more likely is a soldier to consider himself justified in this pursuit, and to be held so by the feelings of the society in general, when he seeks in vain for regular service under his sovereign and his viceroys.

The individual soldiers not only armed, accoutred, and mounted themselves, but they generally ranged themselves under leaders, and formed well-organized bands ready for any purpose of war or plunder. They followed the fortunes of such leaders whether in service or out of it ; and when dismissed from that of their sovereign, they assisted them in robbing on the highway or in pillaging the country till the sovereign was constrained to take them back, or give them estates in rent-free tenure for their maintenance and that of their followers.

All this is reversed under our government. We do the soldiers' work much better than it was ever before done with one-tenth—nay, I may say, one-fiftieth part of the numbers that were employed to do it by our predecessors ; and the whole number of the soldiers employed by us is not equal to that of those who were under them actually in the transition state, or on their way from the place where they had lost service, to that where they hoped to find it ; extorting the means of subsistence either by intimidation or by open violence. Those who are in this transi-

tion state under us, are neither armed, accoutred nor mounted ; we do not disband *en masse*, we only dismiss individuals for offences, and they have no leaders to rauge themselves under. Those who come to seek our service are the sons of yeomen, bred up from their infancy with all those feelings of deference for superiors which we require in soldiers. They have neither arms, horses, nor accoutrements ; and when they leave us permanently or temporarily, they take none with them—they never rob or steal—they will often dispute with the shopkeepers on the road about the price of provisions, or get a man to carry their bundles gratis for a few miles, but this is the utmost of their transgressions and for these things they are often severely handled by our police.

It is extremely gratifying to an Englishman to hear the general testimony borne by all classes of people to the merits of our rule in this respect ; they all say that no former government ever devoted so much attention to the formation of good roads and to the protection of those who travel on them ; and much of the security arises from the change I have here remarked in the character and number of our military establishments. It is equally gratifying to reflect that the advantages must go on increasing, as those who have been thrown out of employment in the army, find other occupations for themselves and their children ; for find them they must or turn mendicants, if India should be blessed with a long interval of peace. All soldiers under us who have served the government faithfully for a certain number of years, are, when no longer fit for the active duties of their profession, sent back with the means of subsistence in honourable retirement for the rest of their lives among their families and friends, where they form, as it were, fountains of good feeling towards the government they have served. Under former governments, a trooper was discharged as soon as his horse got disabled and a foot soldier as soon as he got disabled himself, no matter

how—whether in the service of the prince or otherwise ; no matter how long they had served, whether they were still fit for any other service or not. Like the old soldier in *Gil Blas*, they turned robbers on the highway, where they could still present a spear or a matchlock at a traveller, though no longer deemed worthy to serve in our ranks of the army. Nothing tended so much to the civilization of Europe as the substitution of standing armies for militia ; and nothing has tended so much to the improvement of India under our rule. The troops to which our standing armies in India succeeded, were much the same in character as those licentious bodies to which the standing armies of the different nations of Europe succeeded ; and the result has been, and will, I hope, continue to be the same, highly beneficial to the great mass of the people.

By a statute of Elizabeth it was made a capital offence, felony without benefit of clergy, for soldiers or sailors to beg on the high roads without a pass ; and I suppose this statute arose from their frequently robbing on the highways in the character of beggars. There must at that time have been an immense number of soldiers in the transition state in England ; men who disdained the labours of peaceful life, or had by long habit become unfitted for them. Religious mendicity has hitherto been the safety valve through which the unquiet transition spirit has found vent under our strong and settled government. A Hindoo of any caste may become a religious mendicant of the two great monastic orders of Gosaens, who are disciples of Sewa, and Byragies, who are disciples of Vishnoo ; and any Mahomedan may become a Fakeer—and Gosaens, Byragies, and Fakeers, can always secure or extort food from the communities they visit.

Still, however, there is enough of this unquiet transition spirit left to give anxiety to a settled government ; for the moment insurrection breaks out at any point, from whatever cause, to that point thousands are found flocking from north, east,

west, and south, with their arms and their horses, if they happen to have any, in the hope of finding service either under the local authorities or the insurgents themselves ; as the troubled winds of heaven rush to the point where the pressure of the atmosphere has been diminished.



CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERDHUN, THE SCENE OF KRISHNA'S DALLIANCE WITH THE
MILK-MAIDS.

ON the 10th, we came on ten miles over a plain to Goverdhun, a place celebrated in ancient history as the birth-place of Krishna, the seventh incarnation of the Hindoo god of preservation, Vishnoo, and the scene of his dalliance with the milk-maids, (gopees ;) and in modern days, as the burial or burning place of the Jât chiefs of Bhurtpore and Deeg, by whose tombs, with their endowments, this once favourite abode of the god is prevented from being entirely deserted. The town stands upon a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, about ten miles long, rising suddenly out of the alluvial plain, and running north, east, and south-west. The population is now very small and composed chiefly of Brahmans, who are supported by the endowments of these tombs, and the contributions of a few pilgrims. All our Hindoo followers were much gratified, as we happened to arrive on a day of peculiar sanctity; and they were enabled to bathe and perform their devotions to the different shrines with the prospect of great advantage. This range of hills is believed by Hindoos, to be part of a fragment of the Himmalah mountains which Hanooman the monkey general of Ram, the sixth incarnation of Vishnoo, was taking down to aid his master in the formation of his bridge from the continent to the island of Ceylon, when engaged in the war with the demon king of that island for the recovery of his wife Seeta. He made a false step by some accident in passing

Goverdhun, and this *small bit* of his load fell off. The rocks begged either to be taken on to the god Ram, or back to their old place; but Hunnooman was hard pressed for time, and told them not to be uneasy, as they would have a comfortable resting place, and be worshipped by millions in future ages—thus, according to popular belief, foretelling that it would become the residence of a future incarnation, and the scene of Krishna's miracles. The range was then about twenty miles long, ten having since disappeared under the ground. It was of full length during Krishna's days; and on one occasion he took up the whole upon his little finger, to defend his favourite town and its *milk-maids* from the wrath of Indar, who got angry with the people, and poured down upon them a shower of burning ashes!

As I rode along this range, which rises gently from the plains at both ends and abruptly from the sides, with my groom by my side, I asked him what made Hunnooman drop all his burthen here?

"*All* his burthen!" exclaimed he with a smile; "had it been *all* would it not have been an immense mountain, with all its towns and villages; while this is but an insignificant belt of rock! A mountain upon the back of the men of former days, sir, was no more than a bundle of grass upon the back of one of your grass-cutters in the present day."

Nuthoo, whose mind had been full of the wonders of this place, from his infancy, happened to be with us, and he now chimed in.

"It was night when Hunnooman passed this place; and the lamps were seen burning in a hundred towns upon the mountain he had upon his back—the people were all at their usual occupations, quite undisturbed; this is a mere fragment of his great burthen!"

"And how was it that the men of those towns should have been so much smaller than the men who carried them?"

"God only knew ; but the fact of the men of the plains having been so large was undisputed—their beards were as many miles long as those of the present day are inches ! Did not Bheem throw the forty cubit stone pillar, that now stands at Eerun, a distance of thirty miles, after the man who was running away with his cattle !"

I thought of poor father Gregory at Agra ; and the heavy sigh he gave when asked by Godby what progress he was making among the people in the way of conversion. The faith of these people is certainly larger than all the mustard-seeds in the world !

I told a very opulent and respectable Hindoo banker one day, that it seemed to us strange that Vishnool should come upon the earth merely to sport with milk-maids, and to hold up an umbrella, however large, to defend them from a shower. "The earth, sir," said he, "was at that time infested with innumerable demons and giants, who swallowed up men and women as bears swallow white ants ; and his highness, Krishna, came down to destroy them. His own mother's brother, Kuns, who then reigned at Mutra over Goverdhun, was one of these horrible demons. Hearing that his sister would give birth to a son, that was to destroy him, he put to death several of her progeny as soon as they were born. When Krishna was seven days old, he sent a nurse, with poison on her nipple, to destroy him likewise ; but his highness gave such a pull at it, that the nurse dropped down dead ! In falling she resumed her real shape of a she demon, and her body covered no less than six square miles ; and it took several thousand men to cut her up, and burn her, and prevent the pestilence that must have followed. His uncle then sent a crane, which caught up his highness, who always looked very small for his age, and swallowed him as he would swallow a frog ! But his highness kicked up such a rumpus in the bird's stomach, that he was immediately thrown up again. When he was seven years old his uncle invited him to a feast, and got the

largest and most ferocious elephant in India to tread him to death as he alighted at the door. His highness, though then not higher than my waist, took the enormous beast by one tusk, and after whirling him round in the air with one hand half a dozen times, he dashed him on the ground and killed him! Unable any longer to stand the wickedness of his uncle, he seized him by the beard, dragged him from his throne, and dashed him to the ground in the same manner."

I thought of poor old Father Gregory and the mustard-seeds again; and told my rich old friend, that it all appeared to us indeed passing strange!

The arthodox belief among the Mahomedans is, that Moses was sixty yards high; that he carried a mace sixty yards long; and that he sprang sixty yards from the ground, when he aimed the fatal blow at the giant Ooj, the son of Anak, who came from the land of Canaan, with a mountain upon his back, to crush the army of Israelites. Still the head of his mace could reach only to the ankle-bone of the giant. This was broken with the blow: The giant fell, and was crushed under the weight of his own mountain. Now, a person whose ankle-bone was one hundred and eighty yards high, must have been almost as prodigious as he who carried the fragment of the Himmalah upon his back; and he who believes in the one cannot fairly find fault with his neighbour for believing in the other.

I was one day talking with a very sensible and respectable Hindoo gentleman of Bundelcund, about the accident which made Hunooman drop this fragment of his load at Goverdhun. "All doubts upon that point," said the old gentleman, "have been put at rest by holy writ. It is related in our scriptures.

"Bhurut, the brother of Ram, was left regent of the kingdom of Adjoodheea during his absence at the conquest of Ceylon. He happened at night to see Hunrooinam passing with the mountain upon his back, and thinking he might be one of the king of

Ceylon's demons about mischief, he let fly one of his blunt arrows at him. It hit him on the leg, and he fell, mountain and all, to the ground. As he fell he called out in his agony, 'Ram, Ram,' from which Bhurut discovered his mistake. He went up, raised him in his arms, and with his kind attentions restored him to his senses. Learning from him the object of his journey, and fearing that his wounded brother, Luckmun, would die before he could get to Ceylon with the requisite remedy, he offered to send Hunnooman on upon the barb of one of his arrows, mountain and all. To try him, Hunnooman took up his mountain, and seated himself with it upon the barb of the arrow, as desired. Bhurut placed the arrow to the string of his bow, and drawing it till the barb touched the bow, asked Hunnooman whether he was ready. 'Quite ready,' said Hunnooman; 'but I am now satisfied that you are really the brother of our prince, and regent of his kingdom, which was all I desired. Pray let me descend; and be sure that I shall be at Ceylon in time to save your wounded brother. He got off, knelt down, placed his forehead on Bhurut's foot in submission, resumed his load, and was at Ceylon by the time the day broke next morning, leaving behind him the small and insignificant fragment, on which the town and temples of Goverdhun now stand.

"While little Krishna was frisking about among the milkmaids of Goverdhun," continued my old friend, "stealing their milk, cream, and butter, Brimha, the creator of the universe, who had heard of his being an incarnation of Vishnoo, the great preserver of the universe, visited the place, and had some misgivings, from his size and employment, as to his real character. To try him, he took off through the sky a herd of cattle, on which some of his favourite playmates were attending, old and young, boys and all. Krishna, knowing how much the parents of the boys, and owners of the cattle would be distressed, created, in a moment, another herd and other attendants, so exactly like those that

Brimha had taken, that the owners of the one, and the parents of the other, remained ignorant of the change. Even the new creations themselves remained equally ignorant; and the cattle walked into their stalls, and the boys into their houses, where they recognised and were recognised by their parents, as if nothing had happened.

"Brimha was now satisfied that Krishna was a true incarnation of Vishnoo, and restored to him the real herd and attendants. The others were removed out of the way by Krishna, as soon as he saw the real ones coming back."

"But," said I to the good old man, who told me this with a grave face, "must they not have suffered in passing from the life given to death; and why create them merely to destroy them again?"

"Was he not god the creator himself?" said the old man; "does he not send one generation into the world after another to fulfil their destiny, and then to return to the earth from which they came, just as he spreads over the land the grass and the corn? all is gathered in its season, or withers as that passes away, and dies."

The old gentleman might have quoted Wordsworth—

"We die, my friend,
Nor we alone, but that which each man loves
And prized in his peculiar nook of earth
Dies with him, or is changed; and very soon,
Even of the good is no memorial left."

I was one day out shooting with my friend, the Rajah of Myhere, under the Vindhya range, which rises five or six hundred feet, almost perpendicularly. He was an excellent shot with an English doublebarrel, and had with him six men just as good. I asked him "whether we were likely to fall in with any hares," making use of the term "Khurgosh," or ass-eared.

"Certainly not," said the Rajah, "if you begin by abusing them with such a name; call them 'Lumkunas,' sir, long-eared, and we shall get plenty."

He shot one, and attributed my bad luck to the opprobrious name I had used. While he was reloading, I took occasion to ask him "how this range of hills had grown up where it was?"

"No one can say," replied the Rajah; "but we believe, that when Ram went to recover his wife, Seeta, from the demon king of Ceylon, Rawun, he wanted to throw a bridge across from the continent to the island, and sent some of his followers up to the Himmalah mountains for stones. He had completed his bridge before they all returned; and a messenger was sent to tell those who had not yet come, to throw down their burthens, and rejoin him in all haste. Two long lines of these people had got thus far, on their return, when the messenger met them. They threw down their loads here, and here they have remained ever since, one forming the Vindhya range to the north of this valley, and the other the Kymore range to the south. The Vindhya range extends from Mirzapore, on the Ganges, nearly to the Gulf of Cambay, some six or seven hundred miles, so that my sporting friend's faith was as capacious as any priest could well wish it; and those who have it are likely never to die, or suffer much, from an overstretch of the reasoning faculties in a hot climate.

The town stands upon the belt of rocks, about two miles from its north-eastern extremity; and in the midst is the handsome tomb of Runjeet Sing, who defended Bhurtpore so bravely against Lord Lake's army. The tomb has, on one side, a tank filled with water: and on the other another, much deeper than the first, but without any water at all. We were surprised at this, and asked what the cause could be. The people told us, with the air of men who had never known what it was to feel the *uneasy sensation* of doubt, "that Krishna one hot day, after skying with the milk-maids, had drunk it all dry; and that no

water would ever stay in it, lest it might be quaffed by less noble lips ;!" No orthodox Hindoo would ever for a moment doubt that this was the real cause of the phenomenon. Happy people ! How much do they escape of that pain, which in hot climates wears us all down in our efforts to trace moral and physical phenomena to their real causes and sources ! Mind ! mind ! mind ! without any of it, those Europeans who eat and drink moderately, might get on very well in this climate. Much of it weighs them down.

" Oh, sir, the good die first,

And those whose hearts (*brains*) are dry as summer dust,

Burn to the socket."

One is apt sometimes to think that Mahomed, Manu, and Confucius would have been great benefactors in saving so many millions of their species from the pain of thinking too much in hot climates, if they had only written their books in languages less difficult of acquirement ! Their works are at once " the bane and antidote " of despotism—the source whence it comes, and the shield which defends the people from its consuming fire.

The tomb of Soorajmull, the great founder of the Jât power at Bhurtpore, stands on the north-east extremity of this belt of rocks, about two miles from the town, and is an extremely handsome building, conceived in the very best taste, and executed in the very best style. With its appendages of temples and smaller tombs, it occupies the whole of one side of a magnificent tank full of clear water ; and on the other side it looks into a large and beautiful garden. All the buildings and pavements are formed of the fine white sandstone of Roop Bass, scarcely inferior either in quality or appearance to white marble. The stone is carved in relief, with flowers in good taste. In the centre of the tomb is the

small marble slab covering the grave, with the two feet of Krishna carved in the centre, and around them the emblems of the god, the discus, the skull, the sword, the rosary. These emblems of the god are put on, that people may have something *godly* to fix their thoughts upon. It is by degrees, and with a little "*fear and trembling*," that the Hindoos imitate the Mahomedans in the magnificence of their tombs. The object is ostensibly to keep the ground on which the bodies have been burned from being defiled ; and generally Hindoos have been content to raise small open terraces of brick and stucco work over the spot, with some image or emblem of the god upon it. The Jâts here, like the princes and Gosaens in Bundelcund, have gone a stage beyond this, and raised tombs, equal in costliness and beauty, to those over Mahomedans of the highest rank ; still they will not venture to leave it without a divine image or emblem, lest the gods might become jealous, and revenge themselves upon the souls of the deceased, and the bodies of the living. On one side of Soorajmull's tomb is that of his wife, or some other female member of his family ; and upon the slab over her grave, that is over the precise spot where she was burned, are the same emblems, except the sword, for which a necklace is substituted. At each end of this range of tombs stands a temple dedicated to Buldeo, the brother of Krishna ; and in one of them I found his image, with large eyes, a jet black complexion, and an *African countenance*. Why is this that Buldeo should be always represented of this countenance and colour ; and his brother Krishna, either white, or of an azure colour, and the *Caucasian countenance* ?

The inside of the tomb is covered with beautiful snow-white stucco work, that resembles the finest marble ; but this is disfigured by wretched paintings, representing, on one side of the dome, Soorajmull, in Durbar, smoking his hookah, and giving orders to his ministers ; in another he is at his devotions ; on the third, at his sports, shooting hogs and deer ; and on the fourth, at

war, with some French officers of distinction figuring before him. He is distinguished by his portly person in all, and by his favourite light-brown dress in three places. At his devotions he is standing all in white, before the tutelary god of his house, *Hurdeo*. In various parts, Krishna is represented at his sports with the milkmaids. The colours are gandy, and apparently as fresh as when first put on eighty years ago; but the paintings are all in the worst possible taste and style. Inside the dome of Runjeet Sing's tomb, the siege of Bhurtpore is represented in the same rude taste and style. Lord Lake is dismounted, and standing before his white horse giving orders to his soldiers. On the opposite side of the dome, Runjeet Sing, in a plain white dress, is standing erect before his idol, at his devotions, with his ministers behind him. On the other two sides he is at his favourite field sports. What strikes one most in all this is the entire absence of *priestcraft*. He wanted all his revenue for his soldiers; and his tutelary god seems, in consequence, to have been well pleased to dispense with the mediatory services of priests. There are few temples anywhere to be seen in the territories of these Jât chiefs; and, as few of their subjects have yet ventured to follow them in this innovation upon old Hindoo usages of building tombs, the countries under their dominion are less richly ornamented than those of their neighbours. Those who build tombs or temples generally surround them with groves of mangoe and other fine fruit trees, with good wells to supply water for them, and if they have the means they add tanks, so that every religious edifice, or work of ornament, leads to one or more of utility. So it was in Europe; often the northern hordes swept away all that had grown up under the institutions of the Romans and the the Saracens; for almost all the great works of ornament and utility, by which these countries became first adorned and enriched, had their origin in church establishments. That portion of India, where the greater part of the revenue goes to the priesthood, will generally be much

more studded with works of ornament and utility than that in which the greater part goes to the soldiery. I once asked a Hindoo gentleman, who had travelled all over India, what part of it he thought most happy and beautiful? He mentioned some part of southern India, about Tanjore, I think, where you could hardly go a mile without meeting a happy procession, or coming to a temple full of priests, or find an acre of land uncultivated

The countries under the Mahratta government improved much in appearance, and in happiness, I believe, after the mayors of the palace, who were Brahmans, assumed the government, and put aside the Suttarah Rajahs, the descendants of the great Sewajee. Wherever they could they conferred the government of their distant territories upon Brahmans, who filled all the high offices under them with men of the same caste, who spent the greater part of their incomes in tombs, temples, groves, and tanks, that embellished and enriched the face of the country, and thereby diffused a taste for such works generally among the people they governed. The appearance of those parts of the Mahratta dominion so governed is infinitely superior to that of the countries governed by the leaders of the military class, such as Scindheea, Hoolcar, and the Ghoosla, whose capitals are still mere standing camps—a collection of hovels; and whose countries are almost entirely devoid of all those works of ornament and utility that enrich and adorn those of their neighbours. They destroyed all they found in those countries when they conquered them; and they have had neither the wisdom nor the taste to raise others to supply their places. The Seikh government is of exactly the same character; and the countries they governed have, I believe, the same wretched appearance—they are swarms of human locusts, who prey upon all that is calculated to enrich and embellish the face of the land they infest, and all that can tend to improve men in their social relations, and to link their affection to their

soil and their government. A Hindoo prince is always running to the extreme—he can never take and keep a middle course. He is either ambitious, and therefore appropriates all his revenues to the maintenance of soldiers, to pour out in inroads upon his neighbours; or he is superstitious, and devotes all his revenue to his priesthood, who embellish his country at the same time that they weaken it, and invite invasion, as their prince becomes less and less able to repel it.

The more popular belief regarding this range of sandstone hills at Goverdhun is, that Luckman, the brother of Ram, having been wounded by Rawun, the demon king of Ceylon, his surgeon declared that his wound could be cured only by a decoction of the leaves of a certain tree, to be found in a certain hill in the Himmalah mountains. Hunooman volunteered to go for it; but on reaching the place he found that he had entirely forgotten the description of the tree required; and, to prevent mistake, he took up the whole mountain upon his back, and walked off with it to the plains. As he passed Goverdhun, where Bhurut and Churut, the third and fourth brothers of Ram, then reigned, he was seen by them. It was night; and thinking him a strange sort of fish, Bhurut let fly one of his arrows at him. It hit him in the leg, and the sudden jerk caused this *small fragment* of his huge burden to fall off. He called out in his agony, *Ram, Ram*, from which they learned that he belonged to the army of their brother, and let him pass on; but he remained lame for life from the wound. This accounts very satisfactorily, according to popular belief, for the halting gait of all the monkeys of that species—those who are descended lineally from the general, inherit it of course; and those who are not, adopt it out of respect for his memory, as all the soldiers of Alexander contrived to make one shoulder appear higher than another, because one of his happened to be so. When he passed, thousands and tens of thousands of lamps were burning upon his mountain, as the people remained entirely unconscious

of the change, and at their usual occupations. Hunnooman reached Ceylon with his mountain, the tree was found upon it, and Luckman's wound cured. Goverdhun is now within the boundary of our territory, and a native collector resides here from Agra.



CHAPTER IX.



VERACITY.

THE people of Britain are described by Diodorus Siculus (book v. chap. ii.) as in a very simple and rude state, subsisting almost entirely upon the raw produce of the land ; “ but as being a people of much integrity and sincerity, far from the craft and knavery of men among us, contented with plain and homely fare, and strangers to luxury and excesses of the rich.” In India we find strict veracity most prevalent among the wildest and half-savage tribes of the hills and jungles in central India, or the chain of the Himmalah mountains ; and among those where we find it prevail most, we find cattle-stealing most common—the men of one tribe or one district not deeming it to be any disgrace to *lift*, or steal, the cattle of another. I have known the man among the Gonds of the woods of central India, whom nothing could induce to tell a lie, join a party of robbers to lift a herd of cattle from the neighbouring plains for nothing more than as much spirits as he could enjoy at one bout. I asked a native gentleman of the plains, in the valley of the Nerbudda one day, what made the people of the woods to the north and south more disposed to speak the truth than those more civilized of the valley itself ? “ They have not yet learned the value of a lie,” said he, with the greatest simplicity and sincerity, for he was a very honest and plain spoken man.

Veracity is found to prevail most where there is least to tempt to falsehood, and most to be feared from it. In a very rude state of society, like that of which I have been speaking, the only shape in which property is accumulated is in cattle ; things are

bartered for each other without the use of a circulating medium ; and one member of a community has no means of concealing from the other the articles of property he has. If they were to steal from each other, they would not be able to conceal what they stole—to steal, therefore, would be of no advantage. In such societies every little community is left to govern itself ; to secure the rights, and enforce the duties of all its several members in their relations with each other ; they are too poor to pay taxes to keep up expensive establishments, and their governments seldom maintain among them any for the administration of justice, or the protection of life, property or character. All the members of such little communities will often unite in robbing the members of another community of their flocks and herds, the only kind of property they have, or in applauding those who most distinguish themselves in such enterprises ; but the well-being of the community demands that each member should respect the property of the others, and be punished by the odium of all if he does not.*

It is equally necessary to the well-being of the community, that every member should be able to rely upon the veracity of the other upon the very few points, where their rights, duties, and interests clash. In the very ' rudest state of society, among the woods and hills of India, the people have some deity whose power they dread, and whose name they invoke, when much is supposed to depend upon the truth of what one man is about to declare. The Peepul-tree (*Ficus Indicus*) is everywhere sacred to the gods, who are supposed to delight to sit among its leaves, and listen to

* Johnson says, "Mountaineers are thievish because they are poor ; and having neither manufactures nor commerce, can grow rich only by robbery. They regularly plunder their neighbours, for their neighbours are commonly their enemies ; and having lost that reverence for property, by which the order of civil life is preserved, soon consider all as enemies, whom they do not reckon on as friends, and think themselves licensed to invade whatever they are not obliged to protect."

the music of their rustling. The deponent takes one of these leaves in his hand, and invokes the god, who sits above him, to crush him, or those dear to him, as he crushes the leaf in his hand, if he speaks anything but the truth; he then plucks and crushes the leaf, and states what he has to say.

The large cotton-tree is among the wild tribes of India, the favourite seat of gods still more terrible, because their superintendence is confined exclusively to the neighbourhood; and having their attentions less occupied, they can venture to make a more minute scrutiny into the conduct of the people immediately around them. The Peepul is occupied by one or other of the Hindoo triad, the god of creation, preservation, or destruction, who have the affairs of the universe to look after; but the cotton and other trees are occupied by some minor deities, who are vested with a local superintendence over the affairs of a district, or perhaps of a single village. These are always in the view of the people, and every man knows that he is every moment liable to be taken to their court, and to be made to invoke their vengeance upon himself, or those dear to him, if he has told a falsehood in what he has stated, or tells one in what he is about to state. Men so situated adhere habitually, and, I may say religiously, to the truth; and I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, or life, has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it to save either—as my friend told me, “they had not learned the value of a lie,” or rather they had not learned with how much impunity, a lie could be told in the tribunals of civilized society. In their own tribunals, under the Peepul-tree or cotton-tree, imagination commonly did what the deities, who were supposed to preside, had the credit of doing; if the deponent told a lie, he believed that the deity who sat on the sylvan throne above him, and searched the heart of man, must know it; and from that moment he knew no rest—he was always in dread of his vengeance: if any accident happened to him, or to those dear to him, it was

attributed to this offended deity ; and if no accident happened, some evil was brought about by his own disordered imagination.

In the tribunals we introduce among them, such people soon find that the judges who preside can seldom search deeply into the hearts of men, or clearly distinguish truth from falsehood in the declarations of deponents ; and when they can distinguish it, it is seldom that they can secure their conviction for perjury. They generally learn very soon, that these judges, instead of being, like the judges of their own woods and wilds, the only beings who can search the hearts of men, and punish them for falsehood, are frequently the persons, of all others, most blind to the real state of the deponent's mind, and the degree of truth and falsehood in his narrative ; that, however well-intentioned, they are often labouring in the " darkness visible," created by the native officers around them. They not only learn this, but they learn what is still worse, that they may tell what lies they please in these tribunals and that not one of them shall become known to the circle in which they move, and whose good opinion they value. If, by his lies told in such tribunals, a man has robbed another, or caused him to be robbed of his property, his character, his liberty, or his life, he can easily persuade the circle in which he resides, that it has arisen, not from any false statements of his, but from the blindness of the judge, or the wickedness of the native officers of his court, because all circles consider the blindness of the one, and the wickedness of other, to be everywhere very great.

Arrian, in speaking of the class of supervisors in India, says—" They may not be guilty of falsehood ; and indeed none of the Indians were ever accused of that crime." I believe that as little falsehood is spoken by the people of India, in their village communities, as in any part of the world with an equal area and population. It is in our courts of justice where falsehoods prevail most, and the longer they have been anywhere established, the greater the degree of falsehood that prevails in them. Those

entrusted with the administration of a newly-acquired territory, are surprised to find the disposition among both principals and witnesses in cases to tell the plain and simple truth. As magistrates, they find it very often difficult to make thieves and robbers tell lies, according to the English fashion, to avoid running a risk of criminating themselves. In England, this habit of making criminals tell lies, arose from the severity of the penal code, which made the punishment so monstrously disproportionate to the crime, that the accused, however clear and notorious his crime, became an object of general sympathy. In India, punishments have nowhere been, under our rule, disproportionate to the crimes; on the contrary, they have been generally more mild than the people would wish them to be, or think they ought to be, in order to deter from similar crimes; and in newly-acquired territories they have generally been more mild than in our old possessions. The accused are, therefore, nowhere considered as objects of public sympathy; and in newly-acquired territories they are willing to tell the truth, and are allowed to do so, in order to save the people whom they have injured, and their neighbours generally, the great loss and annoyance unavoidably attending upon a summons to our courts. In the native courts, to which ours succeed, the truth was seen through immediately; the judges who presided could commonly distinguish truth from falsehood in the evidence before them, almost as well as the sylvan gods who sat in the peepul or cotton trees; though they were seldom supposed by the people to be quite so just in their decisions. When we take possession of such countries, they, for a time at least, give us credit for the same *sagacity*, with a little more *integrity*. The prisoner knows that his neighbours expect him to tell the truth to save them trouble, and will detest him if he does not; he supposes that we shall have the sense to find out the truth whether he tells it or not, and the humanity to visit his crime with the measure of punishment it merits, and no more.

The magistrate asks the prisoner what made him steal; and the prisoner enters at once into an explanation of the circumstances which reduced him to the necessity of doing so, and offers to bring witnesses to prove them; but never dreams of offering to bring witnesses to prove that *he did not steal*, if he really had done so—because the general feeling would be in favour of his doing the one, and against his doing the other. Tavernier gives an amusing sketch of Ameer Jumia presiding in a court of justice, during a visit he paid him in the kingdom of Golconda, in the year 1648. (See book i. part ii. chap. xi.)

I asked a native law officer, who called on me one day, what he thought would be the effect of an act to dispense with oaths on the Koran and Ganges water, and substitute a solemn declaration made in the name of God, and under the same penal liabilities, as if the Koran or Ganges water had been in the deponent's hand. "I have practised in the courts for thirty years, sir," said he; "and during that time I have found only three kinds of witnesses—Two of whom would, by such an act, be left precisely where they were, while the third would be released by it from a very salutary check."

"And pray what are the three classes into which you divide the witnesses in our courts?"

"First, sir, are those who will always tell the truth, whether they are required to state what they know in the form of an oath or not."

"Do you think this a large class?"

"Yes, I think it is; and I have found among them many whom nothing on earth could make to swerve from the truth; do what you please, you could never frighten or bribe them into a deliberate falsehood. The second are those who will not hesitate to tell a lie when they have a motive for it, and are not restrained by an oath. In taking an oath they are afraid of two things, the anger of God and the odium of men. Only three days ago," continued my friend, "I required a power of attorney from a lady

of rank, to enable me to act for her in a case pending before the court in this town. It was given to me by her brother; and two witnesses came to declare that she had given it. 'Now,' said I, 'this lady is known to live under the curtain; and you will be asked by the judge whether you saw her give this paper: what will you say?' They both replied—'If the judge asks us the question without an oath, we will say yes—it will save much trouble, and we know that she did give the paper, though we did not really see her give it; but if he puts the Koran into our hands, we must say no, for we should otherwise be pointed at by all the town as perjured wretches—our enemies would soon tell everybody that we had taken a false oath.' Now, "my friend went on, "the form of an oath is a great check upon this sort of persons. The third class consists of men who will tell lies whenever they have a sufficient motive, whether they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hand or not. Nothing will ever prevent their doing so; and the declaration which you propose would be just as well as any other for them."

"Which class do you consider the most numerous of the three?"

"I consider the second the most numerous, and wish the oath to be retained for them."

"That is, of all the men you see examined in our courts, you think the most come under the class of those who will, under the influence of strong motives, tell lies if they have not the Koran or Ganges water in their hands?"

"Yes."

"But do not a great many of those, whom you consider to be included among the second class, come from the village communities—the peasantry of the country?"

"Yes."

"And do you not think that the greatest part of those men who will tell lies in the court, under the influence of strong mo-

tives, unless they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hands, would refuse to tell lies, if questioned before the people of their villages, among the circle in which they live?"

"Of course I do; three-fourths of those who do not scruple to lie in the courts, would be ashamed to lie before their neighbours, or the elders of their village."

"You think that the people of the village communities are more ashamed to tell lies before their neighbours than the people of towns?"

"Much less—there is no comparison."

"And the people of towns and cities bear in India but a small proportion to the people of the village communities?"

"I should think a very small proportion indeed."

"Then you think that in the mass of the population of India *out of our courts*, and in their own circles, the first class, or those who speak truth, whether they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hands or not, would be found more numerous than the other two?"

"Certainly I do; if they were always to be questioned before their neighbours or elders, or so that they could feel that their neighbours and elders would know what they say."

This man is a very worthy and learned Mahomedan, who has read all the works on medicine to be found in Persian and Arabic; gives up half time from sunrise in the morning till nine, to the indigent sick of the town, whom he supplies gratuitously with his advice and medicines, that cost him thirty rupees a month, out of about one hundred and twenty, that he can make by his labours all the rest of the day.

There can be no doubt, that even in England the fear of the odium of society, which is sure to follow the man who has perjured himself, acts more powerfully in making men tell the truth, when they have the Bible in their hands, before a competent and public tribunal, and with a strong worldly motive to tell a lie,

than the fear of punishment by the Deity in the next world, for "having taken his name in vain" in this. Christians, as well as other people, are too apt to think that there is yet abundance of time to appease the Deity by repentance and reformation; but they know that they cannot escape the odium of society with a free press and high tone of moral and religious feeling, like those of England, if they deliberately perjure themselves in an open court, whose proceedings are watched with so much jealousy. They learn to dread the name of a "perjured villain" or "perjured wretch," which would embitter the rest of their lives, and perhaps the lives of their children.*

In a society much advanced in arts and the refinements of life, temptations to falsehood become very great, and require strong checks from law, religion, or moral feeling. Religion is seldom of itself found sufficient; for though men cannot hope to conceal their transgressions from the Deity, they can, as I have stated, always hope in time to appease him. Penal laws are not alone sufficient, for men can always hope to conceal their trespasses from those who are appointed to administer them, or at least to prevent their getting that measure of judicial proof required for their conviction; the dread of the indignation of their circle of society is everywhere the more efficient of the three checks; and this check will generally be found most to prevail where the community is left most to self-government—hence the proverb, "There is honour among thieves." A gang of robbers, who are outlaws, are of course left to govern themselves; and unless they could rely upon each other's veracity and honour, in their relations with each other, they could do nothing. If governments were to leave no degree of self-government to the communities of which the society is composed, this moral check would really cease—the law would

* The new act, 5 of 1840, prescribes the following declaration: "I, solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that what I shall state shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;" and declares, that a false statement made on this shall be punished as perjury.

undertake to secure every right, and enforce every duty ; and men would cease to depend upon each other's good opinion, and good feelings.

There is perhaps no part of the world where the communities of which the society is composed, have been left so much to self-government as in India. There has seldom been any idea of a reciprocity of duties and rights between the governing and the governed : the sovereign who has possession feels that he has a right to levy certain taxes from the land for the maintenance of the public establishments, which he requires to keep down rebellion against his rule, and to defend his dominions against all who may wish to intrude, and seize upon them ; and to assist him in acquiring the dominions of other princes when favourable opportunities offer ; but he has no idea of a reciprocal duty towards those from whom he draws his revenues. The peasantry from whom the prince draws his revenues feel that they are bound to pay that revenue ; that if they do not pay it, he will, with his strong arm, turn them out and give to others their possessions—but they have no idea of any right on their part to any return from him. The village communities were everywhere left almost entirely to self-government ; and the virtues of truth and honesty, in all their relations with each other, were indispensably necessary to enable them to govern themselves. A common interest often united a good many village communities in a bond of union, and established a kind of brotherhood over extensive tracts of richly-cultivated land. Self-interest required that they should unite to defend themselves against attacks with which they were threatened at every returning harvest in a country where every prince was a robber upon a scale more or less large according to his means, and took the field to rob while the lands were covered with the ripe crops upon which his troops might subsist ; and where every man who practised robbery with open violence, followed what he called an "*imperial trade*," padshahsee kam"—

the only trade worthy the character of a gentleman. The same interest required that they should unite in deceiving their own prince and all his officers, great and small, as to the real resources of their estates; because they all knew, that the prince would admit of no other limits to his exactions than their abilities to pay at the harvest. Though, in their relations with each other, all these village communities spoke as much truth as those of any other communities in the world; still, in their relation with the government, they told as many lies—for falsehood in the one set of relations, would have incurred the odium of the whole of their circles of society—truth in the other, would often have involved the same penalty. If a man had told a lie to *cheat* his neighbour, he would have become an object of hatred and contempt—if he had told a lie to *save* his neighbour's fields from an increase of rent or tax, he would have become an object of esteem and respect. If the government officers were asked, whether there was any truth to be found among such communities, they would say *no, that the truth was not in them*; because they would not cut each other's throats by telling them the real value of each other's fields. If the peasantry were asked, they would say, there was plenty of truth to be found everywhere except among a few scoundrels, who, to curry favour with the government officers, betrayed their trust, and told the value of their neighbours' fields. In their ideas, he might as well have gone off and brought down the common enemy upon them in the shape of some princely robber of the neighbourhood!

Locke says, "Outlaws themselves keep faith and rules of justice one with another—they practise them as rules of convenience within their own communities; but it is impossible to conceive, that they embrace justice as a practical principle who act fairly with their fellow highwaymen, and at the same time plunder or kill the next honest man they meet." (Vol. i. p. 37.) In India, the difference between the army of a prince and the gang of a robber was, in the general estimation of the people, only in

degree—they were both driving an *imperial trade*, a *padshahce kam!* Both took the auspices, and set out on their expeditions after the Duseyrak, when the autumn crops were ripening; and both thought the Deity propitiated as soon as they found the omens favourable; one attacked palaces and capitals—the other villages and merchant's store-rooms. The members of the army of the prince thought as little of the justice or injustice of his cause as those of the gang of the robber; the people of his capital hailed the return of the victorious prince who had contributed so much to their wealth by his booty, and to their self-love by his victory. The village community received back the robber and his gang with the same feelings—by their skill and daring they had come back loaded with wealth, which they were always disposed to spend liberally with their neighbours. There was no more of truth in the prince and his army, in their relations with the princes and people of neighbouring principalities, than in the robber and his gang in their relations with the people robbed. The prince flatters the self-love of his army and his people; the robber flatters that of his gang and his village—the question is only in degree: the persons whose self-love is flattered, are blind to the injustice and cruelty of the attack—the prince is the idol of a people, the robber the idol of a gang. Was ever robber more atrocious in his attacks upon a merchant or a village, than Louis XIV. of France, in his attacks upon the Palatine and Palatinate of the Rhine? How many thousand similar instances might be quoted of princes idolized by their people for deeds equally atrocious in their relations with other people. What nation or sovereign ever found fault with their ambassadors for telling lies to the kings, courts, and people of other countries? *

* Hume, in speaking of Scotland in the fifteenth century, says, "Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity and justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility in whom the whole power resided, were not connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate

Rome, during the whole period of her history, was a mere den of execrable thieves, whose feelings were systematically brutalized by the most revolting spectacles, that they might have none of those sympathies with suffering humanity—none of those “compunctious visitings of conscience” which might be found prejudicial to the interests of the gang, and beneficial to the rest of mankind. Take, for example, the conduct of this atrocious gang under *Æmilius Paulus*, against *Epirus* and *Greece* generally after the defeat of *Perseus*, all under the deliberate decrees of the senate—take that of this gang under his son *Scipio the younger*, against *Carthage* and *Numantia*; under *Cato*, at *Cyprus*—all in the same manner under the *deliberate decrees of the senate*! Take indeed the whole of her history, as a republic, and we find it that of the most atrocious gang of robbers that was ever associated against the rest of their species. In her relations with the rest of mankind, Rome was collectively devoid of truth; and her citizens, who were sent to govern conquered countries, were no less devoid of truth individually—they cared nothing whatever for the feelings or the opinions of the people governed; in their dealings with them, truth and honour were entirely disregarded. The only people whose favourable opinion they had any desire to cultivate, were the members of the great gang; and the most effectual mode of conciliating them was, to plunder the people of conquered countries, and distribute the fruit among them in presents of one kind or another. Can any man read without shuddering, that it was the practice among this atrocious gang, to have all the multitude of unhappy prisoners of both sexes, and of all ranks

enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or to give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when employed against a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful, to the chieftain, entitled him to the preference above his fellows.”

and ages, who annually graced the triumphs of their generals, taken off and murdered just at the moment when these generals reached the Capitol amid the shouts of the multitude, that their joys might be augmented by the sight or consciousness of the sufferings of the others. See Hooke's Roman History, vol. iii. p. 488; vol. iv. p. 541. "It was the custom, that when the triumphant conqueror turned his chariot towards the Capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison and there put to death, that so the glory of the victor and the miseries of the vanquished might be in the same moment at the utmost." How many millions of the most innocent and amiable of their species must have been offered up as human sacrifices to the triumphs of the leaders of this great gang! The women were almost as much brutalized as the men; lovers met to talk "soft nonsense" at exhibitions of gladiators. Valeria, the daughter and sister of two of the first men in Rome, was beautiful, gay, and lively, and of unblemished reputation. Having been divorced from her husband, she and the monster, Sylla, made love to each other at one of these exhibitions of gladiators, and were soon after married. Gibbon, in speaking of the lies which Severus told his two competitors in the contest for empire, says, "Falsehood and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to the dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness than when they are found in the intercourse of private life. In the latter, they discover a want of courage; in the other, only a defect of power: and as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world under the name of *policy* seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of craft and dissimulation." But the weak in society are often obliged to defend themselves against the strong by the same weapons; and the world grants them the same liberal indulgence. Men advocate the use of the ballot in elections, that the weak may defend themselves and the free in-

stitutions of the country, by dissimulation, against the strong who would oppress them. The circumstances under which falsehood and insincerity are tolerated by the community in the best societies of modern days, are very numerous; and the worst society of modern days in the civilized world, where slavery does not prevail, is immeasurably superior to the best in ancient days, or in the middle ages. Do we not every day hear men and women, in what are called the best societies, declaring to one individual or one set of acquaintances, that the pity, the sympathy, the love, or the admiration they have been expressing for others, is, in reality, all feigned to sooth or please? As long as the motive is not base, men do not spurn the falsehood as such. How much of untruth is tolerated in the best circles of the most civilized nations, in the relations between electors to corporate and legislative bodies, and the candidates for elections? between nominators to offices under government and the candidates for nomination? between lawyers and clients, venders and purchasers? (particularly of horses,)—between the recruiting serjeant and the young recruit, whom he has found a little angry with his poor widowed mother, whom he makes him kill by false pictures of what a soldier may hope for in the “*hellaque matribus detestata*” to which he invites him?

There is, I believe, no class of men in India from whom it is more difficult to get the true statement of a case pending before a court, than the sipahees of our native regiments; and yet there are, I believe, no people in the world from whom it is more easy to get it in their own village communities, where they state it before their relations, elders, and neighbours, whose esteem is necessary to their happiness, and can be obtained only by an adherence to truth. Every case that comes before a regimental court, involves, or is supposed to involve, the interest or feelings of some one or other of their companions; and the question which the deponent asks himself is not what religion, public justice, the interests of discipline and order, or the wishes of his officers

require ; or what would appear manly and honourable before the elders of his own little village ; but what will secure the esteem, and what will excite the hatred of his comrades. This will often be downright deliberate falsehood, sworn upon the Koran or the Ganges water before his officers. Many a brave sipahcees have I seen faint away from the agitated state of his feelings, under the dread of the Deity if he told lies, with the Ganges water in his hands, and of his companions if he told the truth, and caused them to be punished. Every question becomes a party question, and "*the point of honour*" requires, that every witness shall tell as many lies about it as possible ! When I go into a village, and talk with the people in any part of India, I know that I shall get the truth out, of them on all subjects as long as I can satisfy them, that I am not come on the part of the government to enquire into the value of their fields with a view to new impositions—and this I can always do ; but when I go among the sipahcees to ask about anything, I feel pretty sure that I have little chance of getting at the truth ; they will take the alarm, and try to deceive me, lest what I learn should be brought up at some future day against them or their comrades. The Duke of Wellington says, speaking of the English soldiers : " It is most difficult to convict a prisoner before a regimental court-martial, for, I am sorry to say, that soldiers have little regard to the oath administered to them ; and the officers who are sworn well and truly to try and determine, *according to the evidence*, the matter before them, have too much regard to the strict *letter* of that administered to *them*." Again—" The witnesses being in almost every instance common soldiers, whose conduct this tribunal was instituted to control, the consequence is, that perjury is almost as common an offence as drunkenness and plunder, &c."

In the ordinary civil tribunals of Europe and America, a man commonly feels, that though he is removed far from the immediate presence of those whose esteem is necessary to him, their eyes

are still upon him, because the statements he may give will find their way to them through the medium of the press. This he does not feel in the civil courts of India, nor in the military courts of Europe, or of any other part of the world; and the man who judges of the veracity of a whole people from the specimens he may witness in such courts, cannot judge soundly. Sheikh Sadee, in his Goolistan, has the following tale. "I have heard that a prince commanded the execution of a captive who was brought before him; when the captive having no hope of life, told the prince, that he disgraced his throne. The prince, not understanding him, turned to one of his ministers and asked what he had said. 'He says,' replied the minister, quoting a passage from the Koran, 'God loves those who subdue their passions, forgive injuries, and do good to his creatures.' The prince pitied the poor captive, and countermanded the orders for the execution. Another minister, who owed a spite to the one who first spoke, said, 'Nothing but truth should be spoken by such persons as we in the presence of the prince; the captive spoke abusively and insolently, and you have not interpreted his words truly.' The prince frowned, and said, 'His false interpretation pleases me more than thy true one; because his was given for a good and thine for a malignant purpose; and wise men have said, that 'a peace-making lie is better than a factious, or anger-exciting truth.'" He who should too fastidiously condemn this doctrine, should think of the massacre of Thessalonica, and how much better it would have been for the great Theodosius to have had by his side the peace-making Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, than the anger-exciting Rufinus, when he heard of the offence which that city had committed.

In despotic governments, where lives, characters, and liberties, are every moment at the mercy, not only of the prince, but of all his public officers from the highest to the lowest, the occasions in which men feel authorised and actually called upon

by the common feelings of humanity, to tell "peace-making lies," occur every day—nay, every hour. Every petty officer of government, "armed with his little brief authority," is a little tyrant surrounded by men whose all depends upon his will, and who dare not tell him the truth—the "point of honour" in this little circle demands, that every one should be prepared to tell him "peace-making lies;" and the man who does not do so when the occasion seems to call for it, incurs the odium of the whole circle, as one maliciously disposed to speak "anger-exciting or factious truths." Poor Cromwell and Ann Boleyn were obliged to talk of *love* and *duty* towards their brutal murderer, Henry VIII., and tell "peace-making lies" on the scaffold to save their poor children from his resentment! European gentlemen in India often, by their violence, surround themselves with circles of the same kind, in which the "point of honour" demands, that every member shall be prepared to tell "peace-making lies," to save the others from the effects of their master's ungovernable passions—falsehood is their only safeguard; and, consequently, falsehood ceases to be odious. Countenanced in the circles of the violent, falsehood soon becomes countenanced in those of the mild and forbearing; their domestics pretend a dread of their anger which they really do not feel; and they gain credit for having the same good excuse among those who have no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the real character of the gentlemen in their domestic relations—all are *thought* to be more or less *tigerish* in these relations, particularly *before breakfast*, because some are *known* to be so.

I have known the native officers of a judge who was really a very mild and worthy man, but who lived a very secluded life, plead as their excuse for all manner of bribery and corruption, that their persons and character were never safe from his violence; and urge that men whose tenure of office was so very insecure, and who were every hour in the day exposed to so much indignity, could not possibly be blamed for making the most of their position.

The society around believed all this, and blamed not the native officers but the judge, or the government, who placed them in such a situation. Other judges and magistrates have been known to do what this person was merely reported to do, otherwise society would neither have given credit to his officers, nor have held them excused for their malpractices. Those European gentlemen who allow their passions to get the better of their reason among their domestics, do much to lower the character of their countrymen in the estimation of the people; but the high officials who forget what they owe to themselves and the native officers of their courts, when presiding on the bench of justice, do ten thousand times more; and, I grieve to say, that I have known a few officials of this class.

We have in England known many occasions, particularly in the cases of prosecutions by the officers of government for offences against the state, where little circles of society have made it a "point of honour" for some individuals to speak untruths, and others to give verdicts against their consciences; some occasions indeed where those who ventured to speak the truth, or to give a verdict according to their conscience, were in danger from the violence of popular resentment. Have we not, unhappily, in England and among our countrymen in all parts of the world, experience every day of a wide difference between what is exacted from members of particular circles of society by the "point of honour," and what is held to be strict religious truth by the rest of society? Do we not see gentlemen cheating their tradesmen, while they dare not leave a gambling debt unpaid? The "point of honour" in the circle to which they belong, demands that the one should be paid, because the non-payment would involve a breach of faith in their relations with each other, as in the case of the members of a gang of robbers; but the non-payment of tradesman's bill involves only a breach of faith in a gentleman's relations with a lower order. At least, some gentlemen not feel any

apprehension of incurring the odium of the circle in which they move by cheating of this kind. In the same manner the rouse, or libertine of rank, may often be guilty of all manner of falsehoods and crimes to the females of the class below him, without any fear of incurring the odium of either males or females of his own circle ; on the contrary, the more crimes he commits of this sort, the more sometimes he may expect to be caressed by males and females of his own order. The man who would not hesitate a moment to destroy the happiness of a family by the seduction of the wife or the daughter, would not dare to leave one shilling of a gambling debt unpaid—the one would bring down upon him the odium of his circle, but the other would not ; and the odium of that circle is the only kind of odium he dreads. Appius Claudius apprehended no odium from his own order, the patrician, from the violation of the daughter of Virginius, of the plebeian order ; nor did Sextus Tarquinius, of the royal order, apprehend any from the violation of Lucretia, of the patrician order—neither would have been punished by their own order, but they were both punished by the injured orders below them.

Our own penal code punished with death the poor man who stole a little food to save his children from starvation, while it left, to exult in the caresses of his own order, the wealthy libertine, who robbed a father and mother of their only daughter, and consigned her to a life of infamy and misery ! the poor victim of man's brutal passions and base falsehood suffered inevitable and exquisite punishment, while the laws and the usages of society left the man himself untouched ! He had nothing to apprehend if the father of his victim happened to be of the lower order, or a minister of the Church of Christ ; because his own order would justify his refusing to meet the one in single combat, and the other dared not invite him to it ; and the law left no remedy !

Take the two parties in England into which society is politically divided. There is hardly any species of falsehood uttered

by the members of the party out of power against the members of the party in power, that is not tolerated and even applauded by one party; men state deliberately what they know to be utterly devoid of truth regarding the conduct of their opponents; they baselessly ascribe to them motives by which they know they were never actuated, merely to deceive the public, and to promote the interest of their party, without the slightest fear of incurring odium by so doing in the minds of any but their political opponents. If a foreigner were to judge of the people of England from the tone of their newspapers, he would say, that there was assuredly neither honour, honesty, nor truth to be found among the classes which furnished the nation with its ministers and legislators; for a set of miscreants more atrocious than the Whig and Tory ministers and legislators of England were represented to be in these papers, never disgraced the society of any nation upon earth! Happily all foreigners who read these journals know that in what the members of one party say of those of the other, or are reported to say, there is often but little truth; and that there is still less of truth in what the editors and correspondents of the ultra journals of one party write about the characters, conduct, and sentiments of the members of the other.

There is one species of untruth to which we English people are particularly prone in India, and I am assured everywhere else. It is this. Young "miss in her teens," as soon as she finds her female attendants in the wrong, no matter in what way, exclaims, "it is so like the natives;" and the idea of the same error, vice, or crime, becomes so habitually associated in her mind with every native she afterwards sees, that she can no more separate them than she can the idea of ghosts and hobgoblins from darkness and solitude. The young cadet or civilian, as soon as he finds his valet, butler, or his groom in the wrong, exclaims, "It is so like blacky—so like the niggers; they are all alike, and what could you expect from him!" He has been

is," he says, scarce a man so free from it, but that if he should always, on all occasions, argue or do as in some cases he constantly does, would not be thought fitter for Bedlam than civil conversation. I do not here mean when he is under the power of an unruly passion, but in the steady, calm course of his life, That which thus captivates their reason, and leads men of sincerity blindfold from common sense, will, when examined, be found to be what we are speaking of; some independent ideas, of no alliance to one another are, by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together, and they can no more separate them in their thoughts, than if they were but one idea, and they operate as if they really were so." (Book ii. chap. 33.)

Perjury had long since ceased to be considered disgraceful, or even discreditable, among the patrician order in Rome, before the soldiers ventured to break their oaths of allegiance. Military service had, from the ignorance and selfishness of this order, been rendered extremely odious to free-born Romans: and they frequently mutinied and murdered their generals, though they would not desert because they had sworn not to do so. To break his oath by deserting the standards of Rome, was to incur the hatred and contempt of the great mass of the people—the soldier dared not hazard this. But patricians of senatorial and consular rank, did not hesitate to violate their oaths whenever it promised any advantage to the patrician order collectively or individually, because it excited neither contempt nor indignation in that order. "They have been false to their generals," said Fabius, "but they have never deceived the gods. I know they *can* conquer, and they shall swear to do so,"—they swore and conquered.

Instead of adopting measures to make the duties of a soldier less odious, the patricians turned their hatred of these duties to account, and at a high price sold an absolution from their oath. While the members of the patrician order bought and sold oaths

among themselves merely to deceive the lower orders, they were still respected among the plebeians ; but when they began to sell dispensations to the members of this lower order, the latter also by degrees ceased to feel any veneration for the oath, and it was no longer deemed disgraceful to desert duties which the higher order made no effort to render less odious.

“ That they who draw the breath of life in a court, and pass all their days in an atmosphere of lies, should have any very sacred regard for truth, is hardly to be expected. They experience such falsehood in all who surround them, that deception, at least, suppression of the truth, almost seems necessary for self-defence and accordingly, if their speech be not framed upon the theory of the French cardinal, that language was given to man for the better concealment of his thoughts, they at least seem to regard in what they say, not its resemblance to the fact in question, but rather its subserviency to the purpose in view.” (Brougham’s Geo. 4th.) “ Yet, let it never be forgotten, that princes are nurtured in falsehood by the atmosphere of lies which envelopes their palace ; steeled against natural sympathies by the selfish natures of all that surround them ; hardened in cruelty, partly indeed by the fears incident to their position, but partly too by the unfeeling creatures, the factious, the unnatural productions of a court whom alone they deal with, trained for tyrants by the prostration which they find in all the minds which they come in contact with ; encouraged to domineer by the unresisting medium through which all their steps to power and its abuse are made.” (Brougham’s Carnot).

But Lord Brougham is too harsh. Johnson has observed truly enough, “ Honesty is not necessarily greater where elegance is less,” nor does a sense of supreme or despotic power necessarily imply exercise or abuse of it. Princes have, happily, the same yearning as the peasant after the respect and affection of the circle around them, and the people under them ; and they must generally seek it by the same means.

I have mentioned the village communities of India as that class of the population among whom truth prevails most ; but I believe there is no class of men in the world more strictly honourable in their dealings than the mercantile classes of India. Under native governments, a merchant's books were appealed to as "holy writ," and the confidence in them has certainly not diminished under our rule. There have been instances of their being seized by the magistrate, and subjected to the inspection of the officers of his court. No officer of a native government ventured to seize them ; the merchant was required to produce them as proof of particular entries ; and while the officers of government did no more, there was no danger of false accounts. An instance of deliberate fraud or falsehood among native merchants of respectable stations in society, is extremely rare. Among the many hundreds of bills I have had to take from them for private remittances, I have never had one dishonoured, or the payment upon one delayed beyond the day specified ; nor do I recollect ever hearing of one who had. They are so careful not to speculate beyond their means, that an instance of failure is extremely rare among them. No one ever in India hears of families reduced to ruin or distress by the failure of merchants and bankers ; though here, as in all other countries advanced in the arts, a vast number of families subsist upon the interest of money employed by them.

There is no class of men more interested in the stability of our rule in India than this of the respectable merchants ; nor is there any upon whom the welfare of our government, and that of the people, more depend. Frugal, first, upon principle, that they may not in their expenditure encroach upon their capitals, they become so by habit ; and when they advance in life they lay out their accumulated wealth in the formation of those works which shall secure for them, from generation to generation, the blessings of the people of the towns in which they have resided, and those of the country around. It would not be too much to say, that

one-half of the great works which embellish and enrich the face of India, in tanks, groves, wells, temples, &c., have been formed by this class of the people solely with the view of securing the blessings of mankind by contributing to their happiness in solid and permanent works. "The man who has left behind him great works in temples, bridges, reservoirs, and caravansaries for the public good, does not die," says Sheikh Sadee, the greatest of eastern poets, whose works are more read and loved than those of any other uninspired man that has ever written, not excepting our own beloved Shakspeare.* He is as much loved and admired by Hindoos as by Mahomedans; and from boyhood to old age he continues the idol of the imaginations of both. The boy of ten, and the old man of seventy, alike delight to read and quote him for the music of his verses, and the beauty of his sentiments, precepts, and imagery.

It was to the class last mentioned, whose incomes are derived from the profits of stock invested in manufactures and commerce, that Europe chiefly owed its rise and progress after the downfall of the Roman empire, and the long night of darkness and desolation which followed it. It was through the means of mercantile industry, and the municipal institutions to which it gave rise, that the enlightened sovereigns of Europe were enabled to curb the licence of the feudal aristocracy, and to give to life, property, and character, that security without which society could not possibly advance; and it was through the same means that the people were afterwards enabled to put those limits to the authority of the sovereign, and to secure to themselves that share in the government without which society could not possibly be free, or well constituted. Upon the same foundation may we hope to raise a superstructure of municipal corporations and institutions in India, such as will give security and dignity to the society; and the sooner we begin upon the work the better.

* I ought to except Confucius, the great Chinese moralist.

CHAPTER X.



DECLINING FERTILITY OF THE SOIL—POPULAR NOTION OF THE CAUSE.

On the 13th we came on ten miles to Sahur, over a plain of poor soil, carelessly cultivated, and without either manure or irrigation. Major Godby left us at Goverdhan to return to Agra. He would have gone on with us to Delhi; but having the command of his regiment, and being a zealous officer, he did not like to leave it so long during the exercising season. We felt much the loss of his society. He is a man of great observation and practical good sense: has an infinite fund of good-humour, and a cheerfulness of temperament that never seems to flag—a more agreeable companion I have never met. The village in these parts are literally crowded, with peafowl. I counted no less than forty-six feeding close by among the houses of one hamlet on the road, all wild, or rather *unappropriated*, for they seemed on the best possible terms with the inhabitants. At Sahur our water was drawn from wells eighty feet deep; and this is said to be the ordinary depth from which water is drawn; consequently irrigation is too expensive to be common. It is confined almost exclusively to small patches of garden cultivation in the vicinity of villages.

On the 14th we came on sixteen miles to Kosee, for the most part over a poor soil badly cultivated, and almost exclusively devoted to autumn crops, of which cotton is the principal. I lost the road in the morning before daylight, and the trooper, who usually rode with me, had not come up. I got an old landholder

from one of the villages to walk on with me a mile, and put me in the right road. I asked him what had been the state of the country under the former government of the Jâts and Mahrattas; and was told that the greater part was a wild jungle. "I remember," said the old man, when you could not have got out of the road hereabouts without a good deal of risk. I could not have ventured a hundred yards from the village without the chance of having my clothes stripped off my back. Now the whole face of the country is under cultivation, and the roads are safe; formerly the governments kept no faith with their landholders and cultivators, exacting ten rupees where they had bargained for five, whenever they found the crops good; but in spite of all this *zolm*," (oppression,) said the old man, "there was then more *burkut* (blessings from above) than now. The lands yielded more returns to the cultivator, and he could maintain his little family better upon five acres than he can now upon ten."

"To what, my old friend, do you attribute this very unfavourable change in the productive powers of your soil?"

"A man cannot, sir, venture to tell the truth at all times, and in all places," said he.

"You may tell it now with safety, my good old friend. I am a mere traveller, (*Mosafir*,) going to the hills in search of health, from the valley of the Nerbudda, where the people have been suffering a good deal from blight, and are much perplexed in their endeavour to find a cause."

"Here, sir, we all attribute these evils to the dreadful system of *perjury*, which the practices of your judicial courts have brought among the people. You are perpetually putting the Ganges water into the hands of the Hindoos, and the Koran into those of the Mahomedans; and all kinds of lies are every day told upon them. God almighty can stand this no longer; and the lands have ceased to be blessed with that fertility which they had before this sad practice began. This sir, is almost the only

fault we have any of us to find with your government ; men, by this system of perjury, are able to cheat each other out of their rights, and bring down sterility upon the land, by which the innocent are made to suffer for the guilty."

On reaching our tents, I asked a respectable farmer, who came to pay his respects to the commissioner of the division, Mr. Fraser, what he thought of the matter, telling him what I had heard from my old friend on the road. "The diminished fertility is," said he, "owing no doubt to the want of those salutary fallows which the fields got under former governments, when invasions and civil wars were things of common occurrence, and kept at least two-thirds of the land waste ; but there is, on the other hand, no doubt that you have encouraged perjury a good deal in your courts of justice ; and this perjury must have some effect in depriving the land of the blessings of God ! Every man now, who has a cause in your civil courts, seems to think it necessary either to swear falsely himself, or to get others to do it for him. The European gentlemen, no doubt, do all they can to secure every man his right, but, surrounded as they are by perjured witnesses, and corrupt native officers, they commonly labour in the dark." Much of truth is to be found among the village communities of India, where they have been carefully maintained, if people will go among them to seek it. Here, as almost everywhere else, truth is the result of self-government, whether arising from choice, under municipal institutions, or necessity, under despotism and anarchy : self-government produces self-esteem and pride of character.

Close to our tents we found the people at work, irrigating their wheat-fields from several wells, whose waters were all brackish. The crops watered from these wells were admirable—likely to yield at least fifteen returns of the seed. Wherever we go we find signs of a great government passed away—signs that must tend to keep alive the recollections, and exalt the ideas

of it in the minds of the people. Beyond the boundary of our military and civil stations we find as yet few indications of our reign or our character, to link us with the affections of the people. There is hardly anything to indicate our existence as a people or a government in this country; and it is melancholy to think, that in the wide extent of country over which I have travelled, there should be found so few signs of that superiority in science and in arts which we boast of, and really do possess, and ought to make conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people in every part of our dominions. The people and the face of the country are just what they might have been had they been governed by police officers and tax-gatherers from the Sandwich Islands, capable of securing life, property, and character, and levying honestly the means of maintaining the establishments requisite for the purpose. Some time after the journey herein described, in the early part of November, after a heavy fall of rain, I was driving alone in my buggy from Gurmuktesur on the Ganges, to Meerut. The roads were very bad, the stage a double one, and my horse became tired, and unable to go on. I got out at a small village to give him a little rest and food; and sat down under the shade of one old tree upon the trunk of another that the storm had blown down, while my groom, the only servant I had with me, rubbed down and baited my horse. I called for some parched gram from the same shop which supplied my horse, and got a draught of good water, drawn from the well by an old woman, in a brass jug lent to me for the purpose by the shopkeeper.

While I sat contentedly and happily stripping my parched gram of its shell, and eating it grain by grain, the farmer, or head landholder of the village, a sturdy old Rajpoot, came up and sat himself, without any ceremony, down by my side, to have a little conversation. To one of the dignitaries of the land, in whose presence the aristocracy are alone considered entitled to

chairs, this easy familiarity on the part of a poor farmer seems at first somewhat strange and unaccountable; he is afraid that the man intends to offer him some indignity, or what is still worse, mistakes him for something less than the dignitary! The following dialogue took place.

“You are a Rajpoot, and a Zemindar?” (landholder.) *

“Yes; I am the head landholder of this village.”

“Can you tell me how that village in the distance is elevated above the ground; is it from the debris of old villages, or from a rock underneath?”

“It is from the debris of old villages. That is the original seat of all the Rajpoots around; we all trace our descent from the founders of that village who built and peopled it many centuries ago.”

“And you have gone on subdividing your inheritances here as elsewhere, no doubt, till you have hardly any of you anything to eat?”

“True, we have hardly any of us enough to eat; but that is the fault of the government, that does not leave us enough—that takes from us as much when the season is bad as when it is good?”

“But your assessment has not been increased, has it?”

“No; we have concluded a settlement for twenty years upon the same footing as formerly.”

“And if the sky were to shower down upon you pearls and diamonds, instead of water, the government would never demand more from you than the rate fixed upon?”

“No.”

“Then why should you expect remissions in bad seasons?”

“It cannot be disputed that the *burkut* (blessing from above) is less under you than it used to be formerly, and that the lands yield less to our labour.”

“True, my old friend, but do you know the reason why?”

"No."

"Then I will tell you. Forty or fifty years ago, in what you call the times of the *burkut*, (blessing from above,) the cavalry of Seikh, freebooters from the Punjab, used to sweep over this fine plain, in which stands the said village from which you are all descended; and to massacre the whole population of some villages, and a certain portion of that of every other village; and the lands of those killed used to lie waste for want of cultivators. Is not this all true?"

"Yes, quite true."

"And the fine groves which had been planted over this plain by your ancestors, as they separated from the great parent stock, and formed independent villages and hamlets for themselves, were all swept away and destroyed by the same hordes of freebooters, from whom your poor imbecile emperors, cooped up in yonder large city of Delhi, were utterly unable to defend you?"

"Quite true," said the old man with a sigh. "I remember when all this fine plain was as thickly studded with fine groves of mango-trees as Rohilcund, or any other part of India."

"You know that the land requires rest from labour, as well as men and bullocks; and that if you go on sowing wheat, and other exhausting crops, it will go on yielding less and less returns, and at last not be worth the tilling?"

"Quite well."

"Then why do you not give the land rest by leaving it longer fallow, or by a more frequent alternation of crops relieve it?"

"Because we have now increased so much, that we should not get enough to eat were we to leave it to fallow; and unless we tilled it with exhausting crops we should not get the means of paying our rents to government."

"The Seikh hordes in former days prevented this; they killed off a certain portion of your families, and gave the land

the *rest* which you now refuse it. When you had exhausted one part, you found another recovered by a long fallow, so that you had better returns; but now that we neither kill you, nor suffer you to be killed by others, you have brought all the cultivable lands into tillage; and under the old system of cropping to exhaustion, it is not surprising that they yield you less returns." *

By this time we had a crowd of people seated around us upon the ground, as I went on munching my parched gram, and talking to the old patriarch. They all laughed at the old man at the conclusion of my last speech; and he confessed I was right.

"This is all true, sir, but still your government is not considerate; it goes on taking kingdom after kingdom, and adding to its dominions without diminishing the burthen upon us, its old subjects. Here you have had armies away taking Affghanistan, but we shall not have one rupee the less to pay!"

"True, my friend, nor would you demand a rupee less from those honest cultivators around us, if we were to leave you all your lands untaxed. You complain of the government—they complain of you". (Here the circle around us laughed at the old man again.) "Nor would you subdivide the lands the less for having it rent free; on the contrary, it would be every generation subdivided the more, inasmuch as there would be more of local ties, and a greater disinclination on the part of the members of families to separate, and seek service abroad."

"True, sir, very true—that is, no doubt, a very great evil."

"And you know it is not an evil produced by us, but one arising out of your own laws of inheritance. You have heard, no doubt, that with us the eldest son gets the whole of the land, and the younger sons all go out in search of service, with such share as they can get of the other property of their father?"

"Yes, sir; but where shall we get service—you have none to give us. I would serve to-morrow if you would take me as a soldier," said he, stroking his white whiskers.

The crowd laughed heartily ; and some wag observed, " that I should perhaps think him too old ! "

" Well," said the old man smiling, " the gentleman is not himself very young, and yet I dare say he is a good servant of his government. "

This was paying me off for making the people laugh at his expense. " True, my old friend," said I ; " but I began to serve when I was young, and have been long learning " .

" Very well," said the old man ; " but I should be glad to serve the rest of my life upon a less salary than you got when you began to learn. "

" Well, my friend, you complain of our government ; but you must acknowledge that we do all we can to protect you, though it is true that we are often acting in the dark ? "

" Often, sir ! you are always acting in the dark ; you hardly any of you know anything of what your revenue and police officers are doing ; there is no justice or redress to be got without paying for it ; and it is not often that those who pay can get it. "

" True, my old friend, that is bad all over the world. You cannot presume to ask anything even from the Deity himself, without paying the priest who officiates in his temples ; and if you should, you would none of you hope to get from your Deity what you asked for ! " ●

Here the crowd laughed again ; and one of them said, " that there was certainly this to be said for our government, that the European gentlemen themselves never took bribes, whatever those under them might do. "

" You must not be too sure of that neither. Did not the Lal Beebee, the red lady, get a bribe for soliciting the judge, her husband, to let go Ameer Sing, who had been confined in jail ? "

" How did this take place ? "

" About three years ago, Ameer Sing was sentenced to imprisonment, and his friends spent a great deal of money in bribes

to the native officers of the court, but all in vain. At last they were recommended to give a handsome present to the red lady. They did so, and Ameer Sing was released."

"But did they give the present in the lady's own hand?"

"No, they gave it to one of her women."

"And how do you know that she ever gave it to her mistress, or that her mistress ever heard of the transaction?"

"She might certainly have been acting without her mistress's knowledge; but the popular belief is, that the *Lal Beebee* got the present."

I then told the story of the affair at Jubbulpore, when Mrs. Smith's name had been used for a similar purpose, and the people around us were all highly amused; and the old man's opinion of the transaction with the red lady¹ evidently underwent a change.* We became good friends, and the old man begged me to have my tents, which he supposed were coming up, pitched among them, that he might have an opportunity of showing that he was not a bad subject, though he grumbled against the government.

The next day, at Meerut, I got a visit from the chief native judge, whose son, a talented youth, is in my office. Among other things, I asked him whether it might not be possible to improve the character of the police by increasing the salaries of the officers, and mentioned my conversation with the landholder.

* Some of Mr. Smith's servants entered into a combination to defraud a suitor in his court of a large sum of money, which he was to pay to Mrs. Smith as she walked in the garden. A dancing girl from the town of Jubbulpore was made to represent Mrs. Smith, and a suit of Mrs. Smith's clothes was borrowed for her from the washerman. The butler took the suitor to the garden, and introduced him to the supposed Mrs. Smith, who received him very graciously, and condescended to accept his offer of five thousand rupees in gold mohurs. The plot was afterwards discovered, and the old butler, washerman and all, were sentenced to labour in a rope on the roads.

"Never, sir," said the old gentleman; "the man that now gets twenty-five rupees a month is contented with making perhaps fifty or seventy-five more; and the people subject to his authority pay him accordingly. Give him a hundred, sir, and he will put a shawl over his shoulders, and the poor people will be obliged to pay him at a rate that will make up his income to four hundred. You will only alter his style of living, and make him a greater burthen to the people—he will always take as long as he thinks he can with impunity."

"But do you not think that when people see a man adequately paid by the government, they will the more readily complain of any attempt at unauthorised exactions?"

"Not a bit, sir, as long as they see the same difficulties in the way of prosecuting him to conviction. In the administration of civil justice (the old gentleman is a civil judge) you may occasionally see your way, and understand what is doing; but in revenue and police you never have seen it in India, and never will, I think. The officers you employ will all add to their incomes by unauthorized means; and the lower these incomes the less their pretensions, and the less the populace have to pay." •

CHAPTER XI.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL, AND ITS EFFECTS.

Kosce stands on the borders of Ferozepore, the estate of the late Shumshoodeen, who was hanged at Delhi on the 3rd of October, 1835, for the murder of William Fraser, the representative of the Governor-general in the Delhi city and territories. The Mewaties, of Ferozepore, are notorious thieves and robbers. During the Nawab's time they dared not plunder within his territory, but had a free licence to plunder wherever they pleased beyond it. They will now be able to plunder at home, since our tribunals have been introduced, to worry prosecutors and their witnesses to death by the distance they have to go, and the tediousness of our process; and thereby to secure impunity to offenders, by making it the interest of those who have been robbed, not only to bear with the first loss without complaint, but largely to bribe police officers to conceal the crimes from their master, the magistrate, when they happen to come to their knowledge! Here it was that Jeswunt Rao Holcar gave a grand ball on the 14th of October 1804, while he was with his cavalry covering the siege of Delhi by his regular brigade. In the midst of the festivity he had an European soldier of the king's seventy-sixth regiment, who had been taken prisoner, strangled behind the curtain, and his head stuck upon a spear and placed in the midst of the assembly, where the Natch girls were made to dance round it! Lord Lake reached the place the next morning in pursuit of this monster; and the gallant regiment, who here heard the story,

had soon an opportunity of revenging the foul murder of their comrade in the battle of Deeg, one of the most gallant passages of arms we have ever had in India.

Near Kosee there is a factory in ruins belonging to the late firm of Mercer and Company. Here the cotton of the district used to be collected and screwed under the superintendence of European agents, preparatory to its embarkation for Calcutta on the river Jumna. On the failure of the firm, the establishment was broken up, and the work, which was then done by one great European merchant, is now done by a score or two of native merchants. There is, perhaps, nothing which India wants more than the concentration of capital; and the failure of all the great commercial houses in Calcutta, in the year 1833, was, unquestionably, a great calamity. They none of them brought a particle of capital into the country, nor does India want a particle from any country; but they *concentrated* it; and had they employed the whole, as they certainly did a good deal of it, in judiciously improving and extending the industry of the natives, they might have been the source of incalculable good to India, its people, and its government.

To this concentration of capital in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which forms the grand characteristic of European in contradistinction to Asiatic societies in the present day, must we look for those changes which we consider desirable in the social and religious institutions of the people. Where land is liable to eternal subdivision by the law and the religion of both the Mahomedan and Hindoo population; where every great work, that improves its productive powers, and facilitates the distribution of its produce among the people, in canals, roads, bridges, &c., is made by government; where capital is nowhere concentrated in great commercial or manufacturing establishments,—there can be no upper classes in society but those of office; and of all societies, perhaps that is the worst in

which the higher classes are so exclusively composed. In India, public office has been, and must continue to be, the only road to distinction, until we have a *law of primogeniture* and a *concentration of capital*. In India no man has ever thought himself respectable, or been thought so by others, unless he is armed with his little *Hookoomut*; his "little brief authority" under government, that gives him the command of some public establishment paid out of the revenues of the state. In Europe and America, where capital has been concentrated in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, and free institutions prevail almost as the natural consequences, *industry* is everything; and those who direct and command it are, happily, looked up to as the source of the wealth, the strength, the virtue, and the happiness of the nation. The concentration of capital in such establishments may, indeed, be considered, not only as the natural consequence, but as the pervading cause of the free institutions by which the mass of the people in European countries are blessed. The mass of the people were as much brutalized and oppressed by the landed aristocracy, as they could have been by any official aristocracy, before towns and higher classes were created by the concentration of capital.

The same observations are applicable to China. There the land all belongs to the sovereign, as in India; and, as in India, it is liable to the same eternal subdivision among the sons of those who hold it under him. Capital is nowhere more concentrated in China than in India; and all the great works that add to the fertility of the soil, and facilitate the distribution of the land labour of the country, are formed by the sovereign out of the public revenue. The revenue is, in consequence, one of office; and no man considers himself less respectable, unless invested with some office under government—that is, under the Emperor. Subdivision of labour, concentration of capital, and machinery, render an Englishman everywhere dependent upon the co-operation of multitudes; while the Chinaman, who as yet knows little of either,

is everywhere independent, and able to work his way among strangers. But this very dependence of the Englishman upon the concentration of capital is the greatest source of his strength and pledge of his security, since it supports those members of the higher orders who can best understand and assert the rights and interests of the whole.

If we had any great establishments of this sort in which Christians could find employment, and the means of religious and secular instruction, thousands of converts would soon flock to them; and they would become vast sources of future improvement in industry, social comfort, municipal institutions, and religion. What chiefly prevents the spread of Christianity in India is the dread of exclusion from caste and all its privileges; and the utter hopelessness of their ever finding any respectable circle of society of the adopted religion, which converts, or would be converts to Christianity, now everywhere feel. Form such circles for them—make the members of these circles happy in the exertion of honest and independent industry—let those who rise to eminence in them feel, that they are considered as respectable and as important in the social system as the servants of government, and converts will flock around you from all parts, and from all classes of the Hindoo community. I have, since I have been in India, had, I may say, at least a score of Hindoo grass-cutters turn Mussulmans, merely because the grooms and the other grass-cutters of my establishment happened to be of that religion, and they could neither eat, drink nor smoke with them! Thousands of Hindoos, all over India, become every year Mussulmans from the same motive; and we do not get the same number of converts to Christianity, merely because we cannot offer them the same advantages. I am persuaded that a dozen such establishments as that of Mr. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde, as described by a physician of Manchester, and noticed in Mr. Baileys's admirable work on the Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain, (page 447,) would do more in the way of conver-

sion among the people of India than has ever yet been done by all the religious establishments, or ever will be done by them, without some such aid.

I have said that the great commercial houses of Calcutta, which in their ruin involved that of so many useful establishments scattered over India, like that of Kosee, brought no capital into the country. They borrowed from one part of the civil and military servants of government at a high interest, that portion of their salary which they saved ; and lent it at a higher interest to others of the same establishment, who for a time required, or wished to spend, more than they received ; or they employed it at a higher rate of profit for great commercial and manufacturing establishments scattered over India, or spread over the ocean. Their great error was in mistaking nominal for real profits. Calculating their dividend on the nominal profits, and never supposing that there could be any such things as losses in commercial speculation, or bad debts from misfortunes and bad faith, they squandered them in lavish hospitality and ostentatious display, or allowed their retiring members to take them to England, and to every other part of the world, where their creditors might not find them ; till they discovered that all the real capital left at their command was hardly sufficient to pay back with the stipulated interest one-tenth of what they had borrowed. The members of those houses who remained in India up to the time of the general wreck were of course reduced to ruin, and obliged to bear the burthen of the odium and indignation which the ruin of so many thousands of confiding constituents brought down upon them. Since that time, the savings of civil and military servants have been invested either in government securities, at a small interest, or in banks, which make their profit in the ordinary way, by discounting bills of exchange, and circulating their own notes for the purpose, or by lending out their money at a high interest of ten or twelve per cent. to other members of the same services.

On the 16th of January we went on to Horul, ten miles, over a plain, with villages numerous and large; and in every one some fine large building of olden times. Surae, palace, temple, or tomb, but all going to decay. The population, much more dense than in any of the native states I have seen; villages larger, and more numerous; trade, in the transit of cotton, salt, sugar, and grain, much brisker. A great number of hares were here brought to us for sale, at threepence a piece; a rate at which they sell at this season in almost all parts of upper India, where they are very numerous, and very easily caught in nets.

CHAPTER XII.



TRANSIT DUTIES IN INDIA—MODE OF COLLECTING THEM.

At Horul resides a collector of Customs, with two or three uncovenanted European assistants, as patrol officers. The rule now is to tax only the staple articles of produce from the west on their transit, down into the valley of the Jumna and Ganges; and to have only one line on which these articles shall be liable to duties. They are free to pass everywhere else without search or molestation. This has, no doubt, relieved the people of these provinces from an infinite deal of loss and annoyance inflicted upon them by the former system of levying the Custom duties; and that without much diminishing the net receipts of government from this branch of its revenues. But the time may come when government will be constrained to raise a greater portion of its collective revenues than it has hitherto done from indirect taxation; and when this time comes, the rule which confines the impost to a single line, must of course be abandoned. Under the former system, one great man, with a very high salary, was put in to preside over a host of native agents with very small salaries; and without any responsible intermediate agent whatever to aid him, and to watch over them. The great man was selected without any reference to his knowledge of, or fitness for, the duties entrusted to him, merely because he happened to be of a certain standing in a certain exclusive service, which entitled him to a certain scale of salary; or because he had been found unfit for judicial or other duties requiring more intellect and energy of

character. The consequence was, that for every one rupee that went into the public treasury, ten were taken by these harpies, from the merchants or other people over whom they had, or could pretend to have, a right of search.

Some irresponsible native officer, who happened to have the confidence of the great man, (no matter in what capacity he served him,) sold for his own profit, and for that of those whose good will he might think it worth while to conciliate, the offices of all the subordinate agents immediately employed in the collection of the duties. A man who was to receive an avowed salary of seven rupees a month, would give him three or four thousand for his post; because it would give him charge of a detached post, in which he could soon repay himself with a handsome profit. A poor Peón, who was to serve under others, and could never hope for an independent charge, would give five hundred rupees for an office which yielded him avowedly only four rupees a month. All arrogated the right of search; and the state of Indian society, and the climate, were admirably suited to their purpose. A person of any respectability would feel himself dishonoured, were the females of his family to be *seen*, much less *touched*, while passing along the road in their palanquin or covered carriage; and to save himself from such a dishonour, he was everywhere obliged to pay these Custom-house officers. Many articles that pass in transit through India, would suffer much damage from being opened along the road at any season, and be liable to be spoiled altogether during that of the rains; and these harpies could always make the merchants open them, unless they paid liberally for their forbearance. Articles were rated to the duty according to their value; and articles of the same weight were often, of course, of very different values. These officers could always pretend that packages, liable to injury from exposures, contained within them, among the articles set forth in the invoice, others of greater value, in proportion to their weight.

Men who carried pearls, jewels, and other articles very valuable, compared with their bulk, always depended for their security from robbers and thieves on their concealment; and there was nothing which they dreaded so much as the insolence and rapacity of these Custom House officers, who made them pay large bribes, or exposed their goods. Gangs of thieves had members in disguise at such stations, who were soon able to discover, through the insolence of the officers, and the fears and entreaties of the merchants, whether they had anything worth taking or not. A party of thieves from Duteea, in 1832, followed Lord William Bentinck's camp to the bank of the river Jumna, near Mutra, where they found a poor merchant humbly entreating an insolent Custom-house officer not to insist upon his showing the contents of the little box he carried in his carriage, lest it might attract the attention of thieves, who were always to be found among the followers of such a camp, and offering to give him anything reasonable for his forbearance. Nothing he could be got to offer would satisfy the rapacity of the man; the box was taken out and opened. It contained jewels, which the poor man hoped to sell to advantage among the European ladies and gentlemen of the Governor-general's suite. He replaced his box in his carriage; but in half an hour it was travelling post-haste to Duteea, by relays of thieves which had been posted along the road for such occasions. They quarrelled about the division; swords were drawn, and wounds inflicted. One of the gang ran off to the magistrate at Saugor, with whom he had before been acquainted; and he sent him back with a small party, and a letter to the Duteea Rajah, requesting that he would get the box of jewels for the poor merchant. The party took the precaution of searching the house of the thieves before they delivered the letter to their friend the minister, and by this means recovered above half the jewels, which amounted in all to about seven thousand rupees. The merchant was agreeably surprised when he got back so much of his property

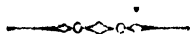
through the magistrate of Mutra, and confirmed the statement of the thief regarding the dispute with the Custom-house officer, which enabled them to discover the value of the box.

Should government by-and-by extend the system that obtains in this single line, to the Customs all over India, they may greatly augment their revenue without any injury, and with but little necessary loss and inconvenience to merchants. The object of all just taxation is, to make the subjects contribute to the public burthen, in proportion to their means, and with as little loss and inconvenience to themselves as possible. The people who reside west of this line, enjoy all their salt, their cotton, and other articles which are taxed on crossing the line, without the payment of any duties; while those to the east of it are obliged to pay. It is, therefore, not a just line. The advantages are—1st, that it interposes a body of most efficient officers between the mass of harpies and the heads of the department, who now virtually superintend the whole system, whereas, they used formerly to do so merely ostensibly. They are at once the tapis of Prince Hosain, and the telescope of Prince Ali: they enable the heads of departments to be everywhere, and see everything, whereas before they were nowhere and saw nothing.* Secondly, it makes the great staple articles of general consumption alone liable to the payment of duties; and thereby does away, in a great measure, with the odious right of search.

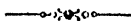
At Kosee our friend, Charles Fraser, left us to proceed through Mutra to Agra; he is a very worthy man, and excellent public officer—one of those whom one always meets again with pleasure, and of whose society one never tires. Mr. Wilmot, the

* The same observations, *mutatis mutandis*, are applicable to the magistracy of the country; and the remedy for all the great existing evils must be sought in the same means, the interposition of a body of efficient officers between the magistrate and the Thapadars, or present head police officers of small divisions,

collector of Customs, and Mr. Wright, one of the patrol officers, came to dine with us. The wind blew so hard all day, that the cook and khansamah (butler) were long in despair of being able to give us any dinner at all. At last we managed to get a tent, closed at every crevice to keep out the dust, for a cook-room ; and they were thus able to preserve their master's credit, which, no doubt, according to their notions, depended altogether on the quality of his dinner.



CHAPTER XIII.



PEASANTRY OF INDIA ATTACHED TO NO EXISTING GOVERNMENT—WANT
OF TREES IN UPPER INDIA—CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE—
WELLS AND GROVES.

WHAT strikes one most after crossing the Chumbul is, I think, the improved size and bearing of the men ; they are much stouter, and more bold and manly, without being at all less respectful. They are certainly a noble peasantry, full of courage, spirit, and intelligence ; and heartily do I wish that we could adopt any system that would give our government a deep root in their affections, or link their interest inseparably with its prosperity ; for with all its defects, life, property, and character are certainly more secure, and all their advantages more freely enjoyed under our government than under any other they have ever heard of, or that exists at present in any other part of the country. The external subdivision of the landed property reduces them too much to one common level ; and prevents the formation of that middle class which is the basis of all that is great and good in European societies—the great vivifying spirit which animates all that is good above it in the community. It is a singular fact, that the peasantry, and, I may say, the landed interest of the country generally, have never been the friends of any existing government—have never considered their interests and that of their government the same ; and, consequently, have never felt any desire for its success or its duration.

The towns and villages all stand upon high mounds formed of the debris of former towns and villages, that have been accumu-

lating most of them for thousand of years. They are for the most part mere collections of wretched hovels built of frail materials, and destined only for a brief period.

" Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long ;"

And certainly there is no climate in the world where man wants less than in this of India generally, and upper India particularly. A peasant lives in the open air ; and a house to him is merely a thing to eat and sleep in, and to give him shelter in the storm, which comes upon him but seldom, and never in a *pitiless shape*. The society of his friends he enjoys in the open air ; and he never furnishes his house for their reception or for display. The peasantry of India, in consequence of living and talking so much in the open air, have all *stentorian* voices, which they find it exceedingly difficult to modulate to our taste when they come into our rooms.

Another thing in this part of India strikes a traveller from other parts,—the want of groves of fruit trees around the villages, and along the roads. In every other part of India he can at every stage have his tents pitched in a grove of mango trees, that defend his followers from the direct rays of the sun in the day-time, and from the cold dews at night ; but in the district above Agra, he may go for ten marches without getting the shelter of a grove in one. The Seikhs, the Malhattas, the Jâts, and the Pathans, destroyed them all during the disorders attending the decline of the Mahomedan empire ; and they have never been renewed, because no man could feel secure that they would be suffered to stand ten years. A Hindoo believes that his soul in the next world is benefited by the blessings and grateful feelings of those of his fellow creatures, who, unmolested, eat the fruit and enjoy the shade of the trees he has planted during his sojourn in this world ; and unless he can feel assured, that the traveller

and the public in general will be permitted to do so, he can have no hope of any permanent benefit from his good work. It might as well be cut down, as pass into the hands of another person, who had no feeling of interest in the eternal repose of the soul of the planter. That person would himself have no advantage in the next world from giving the fruit and the shade of the trees to the public, since the prayers of those who enjoyed them would be offered for the soul of the planter, and not for his—he, therefore takes all their advantage to himself in this world, and the planter and the public are defrauded. Our government thought they had done enough to encourage the renewal of these groves, when, by a regulation, they gave to the present lessees of villages the privileges of planting them themselves, or permitting others to plant them; but where they held their leases for a term of only five years, of course they would be unwilling to plant them. They might lose their lease when the time expired, or forfeit it before; and the successor would have the land on which the trees stood, and would be able to exclude the public, if not the proprietor, from the enjoyment of any of their advantages. Our government has, in effect, during the thirty-five years that it has held the dominion of the north-western provinces, prohibited the planting of mango groves, while the old ones are every year disappearing. In the resumption of rent-free lands, even the ground on which the finest of these groves stand, has been recklessly resumed; and the proprietors told, that they may keep the trees they have, but cannot be allowed to renew them, as the lands are become the property of government. The lands of groves that have been the pride of families for a century and a half have been thus resumed. Government is not aware of the irreparable mischief they do the country they govern by such measures.

On my way back from Meerut, after the conversation already related with the farmer of the small village, my tents were one day pitched, in the month of December, amidst some very fine

garden cultivation in the district of Alagarh ; and in the evening I walked out as usual to have some talk with the peasantry. I came to a neighbouring well, at which four pair of bullocks were employed watering the surrounding fields of wheat for the market, and vegetables for the families of the cultivators. Four men were employed at the well, and two more in guiding the water to the little embanked squares into which they divide their fields.

I soon discovered that the most intelligent of the four was by caste a Jât ; and I had a good deal of conversation with him as he stood landing the leather buckets, as the two pair of bullocks on his side of the well drew them to the top, a distance of forty cubits from the surface of the water beneath.

“ Who built this well ? ” I began.

“ It was built by one of my ancestors, six generations ago.

“ How much longer will it last ? ”

“ Ten generations more, I hope ; for it is now just as good as when first made. It is of puckka bricks, without mortar cement.”

“ How many waterings do you give ? ”

“ If there should be no rain, we shall require to give the land six waterings, as the water is sweet ; had it been brackish four would do. Brackish water is better for wheat than sweet water ; but it is not so good for vegetables, or sugar-cane.”

“ How many beegas are watered from this well ? ”

“ We water twenty beegas, or one hundred and five jureeb, from this well.”

“ And you pay the government how much ? ”

“ One hundred rupees, at the rate of five rupees the beega. But only the five immediately around the well are mine ; the rest belong to others.”

“ But the well belongs to you ; and I suppose you get from the proprietors of the other fifteen, something for your water ? ”

"Nothing. There is more water than I want for my five beegas, and I give them what they require gratis; they acknowledge that it is a gift from me, and that is all I want."

"And what does the land beyond the range of your water of the same quality pay?"

"It pays at the rate of two rupees the beega; and it is with difficulty that they can be made to pay that. Water, sir, is a great thing, and with that and manure we get good crops from the land."

"How many returns of the seed?"

"From these twenty beegas with six waterings, and cross ploughing and good manure, we contrive to get twenty returns; that is, if God is pleased with us, and blesses our efforts."

"And you maintain your family comfortably out of the return from your five?"

"If they were mine I could; but we had two or three bad seasons seven years ago, and I was obliged to borrow eighty rupees from our banker at twenty-four per cent. for the subsistence of my family. I have hardly been able to pay him the interest with all I can earn by my labour, and I now serve him upon two rupees a month."

"But that is not enough to maintain you and your family?"

"No; but he only requires my services for half the day, and during the other half I work with others to get enough for them."

"And when do you expect to pay off your debt?"

"God only knows: if I exert myself, and keep a god *neent*, (pure mind or intentions,) he will enable me or my children to do so some day or other. In the mean time, he has my five beegas of land in mortgage; and I serve him in the cultivation."

"But under those misfortunes, you could surely venture to demand something from the proprietors of the other fifteen beegas for the water of your well?"

"Never sir : it would be said all over the country, that such an one sold God's water for his neighbour's fields, and I should be ashamed to show my face ! Though poor, and obliged to work hard and serve others, I have still too much pride for that."

"How many bullocks are required for the tillage of these twenty beegas watered from your well ?"

"These eight bullocks do all the work ; they are dear now. This was purchased the other day on the death of the old one, for twenty-six rupees. They cost about fifty rupees a pair—the late famine has made them dear."

"What did the well cost in making ?"

"I have heard that it cost about one hundred and twenty rupees ; it would cost about that sum to make one of this kind in the present day, not more."

"How long have the families of your caste been settled in these parts ?"

"About six or seven generations—the country had before been occupied by a peasantry of the Kolar caste. Our ancestors came, built up mud fortifications, dug wells, and brought the country into cultivation ; it had been reduced to a waste : for a long time we were obliged to follow the plough with our swords by our sides, and our friends around us with their matchlocks in their hand, and their matches lighted."

"Did the water in your well fail during the late seasons of drought ?"

"No, sir ; the water of this well never fails."

"Then how did bad seasons affect you ?"

"My bullocks all died one after the other from want of fodder, and I had not the means to till my lands ; subsistence became dear ; and to maintain my family, I was obliged to contract the debt for which my lands are now mortgaged. I work hard to get them back ; and if I do not succeed my children will, I hope, with the blessing of God."

The next morning I went on to Kaka, fifteen miles ; and finding my tents, people, and cattle without a tree to shelter them, I was much pleased to see in my neighbourhood, a plantation of mango and other fruit trees. It had, I was told, been planted only three years ago by Heeramun and Mooteeram, two bankers of the place, and I sent for them, knowing that they would be pleased to have their good work noticed by any European gentleman. The trees are now covered with cones of thatch to shelter them from the frost. The merchants came, evidently much pleased, and I had a good deal of talk with them.

“ Who planted this new grove ? ”

“ We planted it three years ago.”

“ What did your well cost you, and how many trees have you ? ”

“ We have about four hundred trees, and the well has cost us two hundred rupees, and will cost us two hundred more.”

“ How long will you require to water them ? ”

“ We shall require to water the mango and other large trees ten or twelve years ; but the orange, pomegranate, and other small trees will always require watering.”

“ What quantity of ground do the trees occupy ? ”

“ They occupy twenty-two beegas of one hundred and five jureebis. We place them all twelve yards from each other—that is, the large trees ; and the small ones we plant between them.”

“ How did you get the land ? ”

“ We were many years trying in vain to get a grant from the government through the collector ; at last we got him to certify on paper, that if the landholder would give us land to plant our grove upon, the government would have no objection. We induced the landholder, who is a constituent of ours, to grant us the land ; and we made our well and planted our trees.”

“ You have done a good thing ; what reward do you expect ? ”

"We hope that those who may enjoy the shade, the water, and the fruit, will think kindly of us when we are gone. The names of the great men who built the castles, palaces, and tombs at Delhi and Agra have been almost all forgotten, because no one enjoys any advantage from them ; but the names of those who planted the few mango groves we see are still remembered and blessed by all who eat of their fruit, sit in their shade, and drink of their water, from whatever part of the world they come. Even the European gentlemen remember their names with kindness ; indeed, it was at the suggestion of an European gentleman, who was passing this place many years ago, and talking with us as you are now, that we commenced this grove. 'Look over this plain,' said he ; 'it has been all denuded of the fine groves with which it was, no doubt, once studded ; though it is tolerably well cultivated, the traveller finds no shelter in it from the noonday sun—even the birds seem to have deserted you, because you refuse them the habitations they find in other parts of India.' We told him that we would have the grove planted, and we have done so ; and we hope God will bless our undertaking."

"The difficulty of getting land is, I suppose, the reason why more groves are not planted, now that property is secure?"

"How could men plant without feeling secure of the land they planted upon, and when government would not guarantee it ? The landholder could guarantee it only during the five years of lease ; and if at the end of that time government should transfer the lease of the estate to another, the land of the grove would be transferred with it. We plant not for worldly or immediate profits, but for the benefit of our souls in the next world—for the prayers of those who may derive benefit from our works when we are gone. Our landholders are good men, and will never resume the lands they have given us ; and if the lands be sold at auction by government, or transferred to others, we hope the certifica

of the collector will protect us from his grasp."

"You like your present government, do you not?"

"We like it much. There has never been a government that gave so much security to life and property : all we want is a little more of public service, and a little more of trade ; but we have no cause to complain ; it is our own fault if we are not happy."

"But I have been told that the people find the returns from the soil diminishing, and attribute it to the purjury that takes place in our courts occasionally?"

"That, sir, is no doubt true : there has been a manifest falling off in the returns ; and people everywhere think that you make too much use of the Koran and the Ganges water in your courts. God does not like to hear lies told upon one or other, and we are apt to think that we are all punished for the sins of those who tell them. May we ask, sir, what office you hold ?

"It is my office to do the work which God assigns to me in this world."

"The work of God, sir, is the greatest of all works ; and those are fortunate who are chosen to do it !"

Their respect for me evidently increased when they took me for a clergyman. I was dressed in black.

"In the first place it is my duty to tell you, that God does not punish the innocent for the guilty ; and that the perjury in courts has nothing to do with the diminution of returns from the soil. Where you apply water and manure, and alternate your crops, you always get good returns, do you not ?"

"Very good returns ; but we have had several bad seasons, that have carried away the greater part of our population ; but a small portion of our lands can be irrigated for want of wells, and we had no rain for two or three years, or hardly any in due season ; and it was this deficiency of rain which the people thought a chastisement from heaven."

"But the wells were not dried up, were they ?"

"No."

"And the people whose fields they watered had good returns, and high prices for produce?"

"Yes, they had; but their cattle died for want of food, for there was no grass anywhere to be found."

"Still they were better off than those who had no wells to draw water from, for their fields; and the only way to provide against such evils in future is, to have a well for every field. God has given you the fields, and he has given you the water; and when it does not come from the clouds you must draw it from your wells."

"True, sir, very true; but the people are very poor, and have not the means to form the wells they require."

"And if they borrow the money from you, you charge them what interest?"

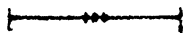
"From one to two per cent. a month according to their character and circumstances; but interest is very often merely nominal, and we are in most cases glad to get back the principal alone."

"And what security have you for the land of your grove in case the landholder should change his mind; or die and leave sons not so well disposed?"

"In the first place, we hold his bonds for a debt of nine thousand rupees which he owes us, and which we have no hopes of his ever paying. In the next, we have on stamped paper his deed of gift, in which he declares, that he has given us the land; and that he and his heirs for ever shall be bound to make good the rents, should government sell the estate for arrears of revenue. We wanted him to write this document in the regular form of a deed of sale; but he said that none of his ancestors had ever yet sold their lands, and he would not be the first to disgrace his family, or record their disgrace on stamped paper—it should, he was resolved, be a deed of gift!"

"But of course you prevailed upon him to take the price?"

"Yes. We prevailed upon him to take two hundred rupees for the land, and got his receipt for the same; indeed, it is so mentioned in the deed of gift; but still the landlord, who is a near relation of the late chief of Hutras, would persist in having the paper made out as a deed not of sale but of gift. God knows whether, after all, our grove will be secure—we must run the risk now we have begun upon it."



CHAPTER XIII.

PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE HINDOOS—TREE CULTIVATION, AND SUGGESTIONS
FOR EXTENDING IT.

I may here be permitted to introduce, as something germane to the matter of the foregoing chapter, a RECOLLECTION of Jubbulpore, although we are now far past that locality.

My tents are pitched where they have often before been, on the verge of a very large and beautiful tank in a fine grove of mango trees, and close by a handsome temple. There are more handsome temples and buildings for accommodation on the other side of the tank, but they are gone sadly out of repair. The bank all round this noble tank is beautifully ornamented by fine banyan and peepul trees, between which and the water's edge intervene numerous clusters of the graceful bamboo. These works were formed about eighty years ago by a respectable agricultural capitalist who resided at this place, and died about twenty years after they were completed. No relation of his can now be found in the district; and not one in a thousand of those who drink of the water or eat of the fruit, knows to whom he is indebted. There are round the place some beautiful bowlies, or large wells with flights of stone steps from the top to the water's edge, imbedded in clusters of beautiful trees. They were formed about the same time for the use of the public by men whose grandchildren have descended to the grade of cultivators of the soil, or belted attendants upon the present native collectors, without the means of repairing any of the injury which time is inflicting upon these magnificent works. Three or four young peepul trees have begun to

spread their delicate branches and pale green leaves rustling in the breeze from the dome of this fine temple, which these infant Herculeases hold in their deadly grasp and doom to inevitable destruction. Pigeons deposit the seeds of the peepul tree, on which they chiefly feed, in the crevices of buildings.

No Hindoo dares, and no Christian or Mahomedan will condescend to lop off the heads of these young trees, and if they did, it would only put off the evil and inevitable day ; for such are the vital powers of their roots, when they have once penetrated deeply into a building, that they will send out their branches again, cut them off as often as you may, and carry on their internal attack with undiminished vigour.

No wonder that superstition should have consecrated this tree, delicate and beautiful as it is, to the gods. The palace, the castle, the temple, and the tomb, all those works which man is most proud to raise, to spread and to perpetuate his name, crumble to dust beneath her withering grasp. She rises triumphant over them all in her lofty beauty, bearing high in air amidst her light green foliage fragments of the wreck she has made, to show the nothingness of man's greatest efforts.

While sitting at my tent door looking out upon this beautiful sheet of water, and upon all the noble works around me, I thought of the charge, so often made against the people of this fine land, of the total want of *public spirit* among them, by those who have spent their Indian days in the busy courts of law, and still more busy commercial establishments of our great metropolis.

If by the term public spirit be meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their own enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment for the common good, there is perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollections of their countrymen for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility is the study of every Hindoo of rank and

property. Such works tend, in his opinion, not only to spread and perpetuate his name in this world, but, through the good wishes and prayers of those who are benefited by them, to secure the favour of the Deity in the next.

According to their notions, every drop of rain water or dew that falls to the ground from the green leaf of a fruit tree, planted by them for the common good, proves a refreshing draught for their souls in the next. When no descendant remains to pour the funeral libation in their name, the water from the trees they have planted for the public good is destined to supply its place. Every thing judiciously laid out to promote the happiness of their fellow creatures will, in the next world, be repaid to them tenfold by the Deity.

In marching over the country in the hot season, we every morning find our tents pitched on the green sward amid beautiful groves of fruit trees, with wells of pukka (brick or stone) masonry, built at great expense and containing the most delicious water; but how few of us ever dream of asking at whose cost the trees that afford us and our followers such agreeable shade, were planted, or the wells that afford us such copious streams of fine water in the midst of dry arid plains, were formed—we go on enjoying all the advantages which arise from the *noble public spirit* that animates the people of India to benevolent exertions, without once calling in question the truth of the assertion of our metropolitan friends, that “the people of India have no public spirit!”

Manmare, a respectable merchant of Mirzapore, who traded chiefly in bringing cotton from the valley of the Nerbudda and southern India, through Jubbulpore to Mirzapore, and in carrying back sugar and spices in return, learning how much travellers on this great road suffered from the want of water near the Hilleea pass, under the Vindhya range of hills, commenced a work to remedy the evil in 1822. Not a drop of wholesome water

was to be found within ten miles of the bottom of the pass, where the laden bullocks were obliged to rest during the hot months, when the greatest thoroughfare always took place. Manmare commenced a large tank and garden, and had laid out about twenty thousand rupees in the work, when he died. His son, Lulla Manmare, completed the work soon after his father's death, at a cost of eighty thousand rupees more, that travellers might enjoy all the advantages that his good old father had benevolently intended for them. The tank is very large, always full of fine water even in the driest part of the dry season, with flights of steps of cut freestone from the water's edge to the top all round. A fine garden and shrubbery, with temples and building for accommodations, are attached, with an establishment of people to attend and keep them in order.

All the country around this magnificent work was a dreary solitude -- there was not a human habitation within many miles on any side. Tens of thousands who passed this road every year were blessing the name of the man who had created it where it was so much wanted, when the new road from the Nurbudda to Mirzapore was made by the British government to descend some ten miles to the north of it. As many miles were saved in the distance by the new cut, and the passage down made comparatively easy at great cost, travellers forsook the Hilleea road, and poor Manmare's work became comparatively useless! I brought the work to the notice of Lord William Bentinck, who in passing Mirzapore some time after, sent for the son, and conferred upon him a rich dress of honour, of which he has ever since been extremely proud.

Hundreds of works like this are undertaken every year for the benefit of the public by benevolent and unostentatious individuals, who look for their reward, not in the applause of newspapers and public meetings, but in the grateful prayers and good wishes of those who are benefited by them; and in the favour of

the Deity in the next world, for benefits conferred upon his creatures in this.*

What the people of India want is not public spirit, for no men in the world have more of it than the Hindoos ; but a disposition on the part of private individuals to combine their efforts and means in effecting great objects for the public good. With this disposition they will be, in time, inspired under our rule, when the enemies of all settled governments may permit us to divert a little of our intellect, and our revenue, from the duties of war to those of peace.

In the year 1829, while I held the civil charge of the district of Jubbulpore, in this valley of the Nerbudda, I caused an estimate to be made of the public works of ornament and utility it contained. The population of the district at that time amounted to five hundred thousand souls, distributed among four thousand and fifty-three occupied towns, villages, and hamlets. There were one thousand villages more which had formerly been occupied, but were then deserted. There were two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight tanks, two hundred and nine bowlies, or large wells, with flights of steps extending from the top down to the water when its lowest stage; fifteen hundred and sixty wells lined with brick and stone, cemented with lime, but without stairs; three hundred and sixty Hindoo temples, and twenty-two Mahomedan mosques. The estimated cost of these works in grain at the present price, that is the quantity that would have been consumed, had the labour been paid in kind at the present ordinary rate,

* Within a few miles of Ghosulpore at the village of Tulwa, which stands upon the old high road leading to Mirzapore, is a still more magnificent tank with one of the most beautiful temples in India, all executed two or three generations ago at the expense of two or three lacks of rupees for the benefit of the public, by a very worthy man, who became rich in the service of the former government. His descendants, all save one, now follow the plough; and that one has a small rent-free village held on condition of appropriating the rents to the repair of the tank.

was eighty-six lacks, sixty-six thousand and forty-three rupees (86,66,043), £866,604 sterling.

The labourer was estimated to be paid at the rate of about two-thirds the quantity of corn he would get in England if paid in kind, and corn sells here at about one-third the price it fetches in average seasons in England. In Europe, therefore, these works, supposing the labour equally efficient, would have cost at least four times the sum here estimated; and such works formed by private individuals for the public good, without any view whatever to return in profits, indicates a very high degree of *public spirit*.

The whole annual rent of the lands of this district amounts to about six hundred and fifty thousand rupees a year, (£65,000 sterling,) that is, five hundred thousand demandable by the government, and one hundred and fifty thousand by those who hold the lands at lease immediately under government, over and above what may be considered as the profits of their stock as farmers. These works must, therefore, have cost about thirteen times the amount of the annual rent of the whole of the lands of the districts—or the whole annual rent for above thirteen years!

But I have not included the groves of mango and tamarind, and other fine trees with which the district abounds. Two-thirds of the towns and villages are imbedded in fine groves of these trees, mixed with the banyan* and the peepul.† I am sorry they were not numbered; but I should estimate them at three thousand; and the outlay upon a mango grove, is, on an average, about four hundred rupees.

The groves of fruit-trees planted by individuals for the use of the public, without any view to a return in profit, would, in this

* *Ficus Indica*.—H. H. S.

† *Ficus Religiosa*.—H. H.

district, according to this estimate, have cost twelve lacks more, or about twice the amount of the annual rent of the whole of the lands. It should be remarked that the whole of these works had been formed under former governments; ours was established in the year 1817.

The Upper Doonab and the Delhi territories were denuded of their trees in the wars that attended the decline and fall of the Mahomedan empire, and the rise and progress of the Seikhs, Jâts, and Mahrattas in that quarter. These lawless freebooters soon swept all the groves from the face of every country they occupied with their troops, and they never attempted to renew them or encourage the renewal. We have not been much more sparing; and the finest groves of fruit-trees have everywhere been recklessly swept down by our barrack-masters to furnish fuel for their brick-kilns; and I am afraid little or no encouragement is given for planting others to supply their place in those parts of India where they are most wanted.

We have a regulation, authorising the lessee of a village to plant a grove in his grounds, but where the settlements of the land revenue have been for short periods, as in all Upper and Central India, this authority is by no means sufficient to induce them to invest their property in such works. It gives no sufficient guarantee that the lessee for the next settlement shall respect a grant made by his predecessors; and every grove of mango-trees requires outlay and care for at least ten years. Though a man destines the fruit, the shade, and the water for the use of the public, he requires to feel, that it will be held for the public in his name, and by his children and descendants; and never be exclusively appropriated by any man in power for his own use.

If the lands were still to belong to the lessee of the estate under government, and the trees only to the planter and to his

heirs, he to whom the land belonged might very soon render the property in the trees of no value to the planter or his heirs.

If government wishes to have the Upper Doab, the Delhi, Mutra, and Agra districts again enriched and embellished with mango groves, they will not delay to convey this feeling to the hundreds, nay thousands, who would be willing and anxious to plant them upon a single guarantee, that the lands upon which the trees stand shall be considered to belong to them and their heirs as long as these trees stand upon them. That the land, the shade, the fruit, and the water will be left to the free enjoyment of the public, we may take for granted, since the good which the planter's soul is to derive from such a work in the next world, must depend upon their being so; and all that is required to be stipulated in such grants is, that mango, tamarind, peepul or bur trees, at the rate of twenty-five the English acre, shall be planted and kept up in every piece of land granted for the purpose; and that a well of pukka masonry shall be made for the purpose of watering them in the smallest, as well as in the largest piece of ground granted and kept always in repair.

If the grantee fulfil the conditions, he ought, in order to cover part of the expense, to be permitted to till the land under the trees till they grow to maturity and yield their fruit; if he fails, the lands, having been declared liable to resumption, should be resumed. The person soliciting such grants should be required to certify in his application, that he had already obtained the sanction of the present lessee of the village in which he wishes to have his grove, and for this sanction he would of course have to pay the full value of the land for the period of his lease. When his lease expires, the land in which the grove is planted would be excluded from the assessment; and when it is considered that every good grove must cost the planter more than fifty times the annual rent of the land, government may be satisfied, that they secure the advantage to their people at a very cheap rate.

Over and above the advantage of fruit, water, and shade, for the public, these groves tend much to secure the districts that are well studded with them, from dreadful calamities that, in India, always attend upon deficient falls of rain in due seasons. They attract the clouds, and make them deposit their stores in districts that would not otherwise be blessed with them; and hot and dry countries denuded of their trees, and by that means deprived of a great portion of that moisture to which they had been accustomed, and which they require to support vegetation, soon become dreary and arid wastes. The lighter particles, which formed the richest portion of their soil, blow off, and leave only the heavy aranaceous portion; and hence, perhaps, those sandy deserts, in which are often to be found the signs of a population once very dense.

In the Mauritius, the rivers were found to be diminishing under the rapid disappearance of the woods in the interior, when government had resource to the measure of preventing further depredations, and they soon recovered their size.

The clouds brought up from the southern ocean by the south-east trade-wind, are attracted, as they pass over the island, by the forests in the interior, and made to drop their stores in daily refreshing showers. In many other parts of the world, governments have now become aware of this mysterious provision of nature; and have adopted measures to take advantage of it for the benefit of the people; and the dreadful sufferings to which the people of those of our districts, which have been the most denuded of their trees, have been of late years exposed from the want of rain in due season, may, perhaps, induce our Indian government to turn its thought to the subject.

The province of Malwa, which is bordered by Nerbudda on the south, Guzerat on the west, Rajpootana on the north, and Allahabad on the east, is said never to have been visited by a famine; and this exemption from so great a calamity, must arise

chiefly from its being so well studded with hills and groves. The natives have a couplet, which, like all good couplets on rural subjects, is attributed to Sehdeo, one of the five demigod brothers of the Mahabharut, to this effect—"If it does not thunder on such a night, you, father, must go to Malwa and I to Guzerat," meaning the rains will fail us here, and we must go to those quarters where they never fail.



CHAPTER XV.

CITIES AND TOWNS, FORMED BY PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS, DISAPPEAR AS SOVEREIGNS AND GOVERNORS CHANGE THEIR ABODES.

ON the 17th and 18th, we went on twenty miles to Pulwul, which stands upon an immense mound in some places a hundred feet high, formed entirely of the debris of old buildings. There are an immense number of fine brick buildings in ruins; but not one of brick or stone at present inhabited. The place was once, evidently under the former government the seat of some great public establishments, which, with their followers and dependents constituted almost the entire population. The occasion which keeps such establishments at a place no sooner passes away, than the place is deserted and goes to ruin as a matter of course. Such is the history of Nineveh, Babylon, and all cities which have owed their origin and support entirely to the public establishments of the sovereign—any revolution that changed the seat of government depopulated a city.

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James the 1st of England to the court of Delhi, during the reign of Jehangheer, passing through some of the old capital cities of southern India, then deserted and in ruins, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I know not by what policy the Emperors seek the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, but now lie desolate and in rubbish. It must arise from a wish to destroy all the ancient cities, in order that there might appear nothing great to have existed before their time." But these cities like all which are

supported in the same manner, by the residence of a court and its establishments, become deserted as the seat of dominion is changed. Nineveh, built by Ninus. out of the spoils he brought back from the wide range of his conquests, continued to be the residence of the court and the principal seat of its military establishments for thirteen centuries, to the reign of Sardanapalus. During the whole of this time, it was the practice of the sovereigns to collect from all the provinces of the empire their respective quotas of troops, and to canton them within the city for one year, at the expiration of which they were relieved by fresh troops. In the last years of Sardanapalus, four provinces of the empire, Media, Persia, Babylonia, and Arabia, are said to have furnished a quota of four hundred thousand; and in the rebellion which closed his reign, these troops were often beaten by those from the other provinces of the empire, which could not have been much less in number. The successful rebel, Arbaces, transferred the court and its appendages to his own capital, and Nineveh became deserted; and for more than eighteen centuries lost to the civilized world.

Babylon in the same manner; and Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Seleucia all, one after the other, became deserted as sovereigns changed their residence, and with it the seats of their public establishments, which alone supported them. Thus Thebes became deserted for Memphis, Memphis for Alexandria, and Alexandria for Cairo, as the sovereigns of Egypt changed theirs; and thus it has always been in India, where cities have been almost all founded on the same bases, the residence of princes or governors, and their public establishments civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

The city of Kunouj, on the Ganges, when conquered by Mahomed of Ghuznee, is stated by the historians of the conqueror, to have contained a standing army of five hundred thousand in a due proportion of cavalry and elephants, thirty thousand for the sale of pawans alone, and sixty thousand

families of opera girls. The pawn dealers and opera girls were part and parcel of the court and its public establishments, and as much dependent upon the residence of the sovereign, as the civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers who ate their pawns, and enjoyed their dancing and music ; and this great city no sooner ceased to be the residence of the sovereign, the great proprietor of all the lands in the country, than it became deserted.

After the establishment of the Mahomedan dominion in India, almost all the Hindoo cities, within the wide range of their conquest, became deserted as the necessary consequence, as the military establishments were all destroyed or disbanded, and the religious establishments scattered, their lands confiscated, their idols broken, and their temples either reduced to ruins in the first ebullition of fanatical zeal, or left deserted and neglected to decay from want of those revenues by which alone they had been or could be supported. The towns and cities of the Roman empire, which owed their origin to the same cause, the residence of governors and their legions, or other public establishments, resisted similar shocks with more endurance, because they had most of them ceased to depend upon the causes in which they originated, and begun to rest upon other bases. When destroyed by wave after wave of barbarian conquest, they were restored for the most part by the residence of church dignitaries and their establishments ; and the military establishments of the new order of things, instead of remaining as standing armies about the courts of princes, dispersed after every campaign like militia, to enjoy the fruits of the lands assigned for their maintenance, where alone they could be enjoyed in the rude state to which society had been reduced, upon the lands themselves.

For some time after the Mahomedan conquest of India, that part of it which was brought effectually under the new dominion, can hardly be considered to have had more than one city with its dependent towns and villages ; because the Emperor chose to con-

centrate the greater part of his military establishments around the seat of his residence ; and this great city became deserted whenever he thought it necessary or convenient to change that seat.

But when the Emperor began to govern his distant provinces by viceroys, he was obliged to confide to them a share of his military establishments, the only public establishments which a conqueror thought it worth while to maintain ; and while they moved about in their respective provinces, the imperial camp became fixed. The great officers of state, enriched by the plunder of conquered provinces, began to spend their wealth in the construction of magnificent works for private pleasure or public convenience. In time, the viceroys began to govern their provinces by means of deputies, who moved about their respective districts, and enabled their masters, the viceroys of provinces, to convert their camps into cities, which in magnificence often rivalled that of the Emperor their master. The deputies themselves in time found that they could govern their respective districts from a central point ; and as their camps became fixed in the chosen spots, towns of considerable magnitude rose, and sometimes rivalled the capitals of the Viceroys. The Mahomedans had always a greater taste for architectural magnificence, as well in their private as in their public edifices, than the Hindoos, who sought the respect and good wishes of mankind through the medium of groves and reservoirs diffused over the country for their benefit. Whenever a Mahomedan camp was converted into a town or city, almost all the means of individuals were spent in the gratification of this taste. Their wealth in money and moveables would be, on their death, at the mercy of their prince—their offices would be conferred on strangers ; tombs and temples, and caravansaries, gratuitously for the public good, propitiate the Deity, and conciliate the good will of God might also tend to the advancement of their children

in the service of the sovereign. The towns and cities which rose upon the sites of the standing camps of the governors of provinces and districts in India, were many of them as much adorned by private and public edifices as those which rose upon the standing camps of the Mahomedan conquerors of Spain.

Standing camps converted into towns and cities, it became in time necessary to fortify with walls against surprise under any sudden ebullition among the conquered people ; and fortifications and strong garrisons often suggested to the bold and ambitious governors of distant provinces, attempts to shake off the imperial yoke. That portion of the annual revenue, which had hitherto flowed in copious streams of tribute, to the distant imperial capital, was now arrested, and made to augment the local establishments, adorn the cities, and enrich the towns of the Viceroy, now become the sovereigns of independent kingdoms. The lieutenant-governors of these new sovereigns, possessed of fortified towns, in their turn often shook off the yoke of their masters in the same manner, and became in their turn the independent sovereigns of their respective districts. The whole resources of the countries subject to their rule, being employed to strengthen and improve their condition, they soon became rich and powerful kingdoms, adorned with splendid cities and populous towns, since the public establishments of the sovereigns, among whom all the revenues were expended, spent all they received in the purchase of the produce of the land and labour of the surrounding country, which required no other mark.

Thus the successful rebellion of one Viceroy converted southern India into an independent kingdom ; and the successful rebellion of his lieutenant-governors in time divided it into four independent kingdoms, each with a standing army of a hundred thousand men, and adorned with towns and cities of great strength and magnificence. But they continued to depend upon the causes in which they originated—the public establishments of the sovereign ;

and when the Emperor Akbar and his successors, aided by their own intestine wars, had conquered these sovereigns, and again reduced their kingdom to tributary provinces, almost all these cities and towns became depopulated as the necessary consequence. The public establishments were again moving about with the courts and camps of the Emperor and his Vicerays ; and drawing in their train all those who found employment and subsistence in contributing to their efficiency and enjoyment. It was not as our ambassador, in the simplicity of his heart, supposed, the disinclination of the Emperors to see any other towns magnificent, save those in which they resided, which destroyed them, but their ambition to reduce all independent kingdoms to tributary provinces.

CHAPTER XVI.

MURDER OF MR. FRASER, AND EXECUTION OF THE NAWAB
SHUMSHOODEEN.

AT Pulwul, Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Wright, who had come on business, and Mr. Gubbins, breakfasted and dined with us. They complained sadly of the solitude to which they were condemned, but admitted that they should not be able to get through half so much business were they placed at a large station, and exposed to all the temptations and distractions of a gay and extensive circle, nor feel the same interest in their duties, or sympathy with the people, as they do when thrown among them in this manner. To give young men good feelings towards the natives, the only good way is to throw them among them at those out stations in the early part of their career when all their feelings are fresh about them. This holds good, as well with the military as the civil officer, but more especially with the latter. A young officer at an outpost with his corps or part of it, for the first season or two, commonly lays in a good store of feeling towards his men that lasts him for life; and a young gentleman of the civil service lays in, in the same manner, a good store of sympathy and fellow feeling with the natives in general.

Mr. Gubbins is the magistrate and collector of one of the three districts into which the Delhi territories are divided, and he has charge of Ferozepore, the resumed estate of the late Nawab Shumshoodeen, which yields a net revenue of about two hundred thousand rupees a year. I have already stated that this Nawab took good care that his Mewattee plunderers should not rob

within his own estate ; but he not only gave them free permission to rob over the surrounding districts of our territories, but encouraged them to do so, that he might share in their booty. He was a handsome young man, and an extremely agreeable companion ; but a most unprincipled and licentious character. No man who was reputed to have a handsome wife or daughter was for a moment safe within his territories. The following account of Mr. William Fraser's assassination by this Nawab, may, I think, be relied upon.

The Ferozepore Jageer was one of the principalities created under the principle of Lord Cornwallis's second administration, which was to make the security of the British dominions dependent upon the divisions among the independent native chiefs upon their frontiers. The person receiving the grant or confirmation of such principality from the British government, "pledged himself to relinquish all claims to aid ; and to maintain the peace in his own possessions." Ferozepore was conferred by Lord Lake, in 1805, upon Ahmud Buksh, for his diplomatic services, out of the territories acquired by us west of the Jumna, during the Mahratta wars. He had been the agent on the part of the Hindoo chiefs of Alwar, in attendance upon Lord Lake during the whole of that war. He was a great favourite ; and his lordship's personal regard for him was thought by those chiefs, to have been so favourable to their cause, that they conferred upon him the Pergunnah of Lohoro ^{on} hereditary rent-free tenure.

In 1822, Ahmud Buksh declared Shumshodeen, his eldest son, his heir, with the sanction of the British government, and the Rajahs of Alwar. In February 1825, Shumshodeen, at the request of his father, by a formal deed assigned over the Pergunnah of Loharo, as a provision for his younger-brothers, by another mother, Ameenodeen and Zeeodeen ;* and in October, 1826,

and Zeeodeen's mother was the Bhow Begun, or wife ; Bhow Khunum, or mistress.

he was finally invested by his father with the management ; and the circumstance was notified to the British government, through the resident at Delhi, Sir Charles Metcalfe. Ahmud Buksh died in October, 1827. Disputes soon after arose between the brothers ; and they expressed a desire to submit their claims to the arbitration of Sir Edward Colebroke, who had succeeded Sir Charles Metcalfe in the residency of Delhi. He referred the matter to the supreme government ; and by their instructions, under date 11th of April, 1828, he was authorised to adjust the matter. He decided that Shumshooden should make a complete and unencumbered cession to his younger brothers of the Pergunnah of Loharo, without the reservation of any right of interference in the management, or of any condition of obedience to himself whatever ; and that Ameenooden should, till his younger brother came of age, pay into the Delhi treasury for him the annual sum of five thousand two hundred and ten rupees, as his half share of the net proceeds, to be there held in deposit for him ; and that the estate should, from the time he came of age, be divided between them in equal shares. This award was confirmed by government ; but Sir Edward was recommended to alter it for an annual money payment to the two younger brothers, if he could do so with the consent of the parties.

The Pergunnah was transferred, as the money payment could not be agreed upon ; and in September, Mr. Martin, who had succeeded Sir E. Colebrook, proposed to government, that the Pergunnah of Loharo should be restored to Shumshooden, in lieu of a fixed sum of twenty-six thousand rupees a year, to be paid by him annually to his two younger brothers. This proposal was made, on the ground that Ameenooden could not collect the revenues from the refractory landholders, (instigated, no doubt, by the emissaries of Shumshooden,) and, consequently, could not pay his younger brother's revenue into the treasury. In calculating the annual *net* revenue of ten thousand four hundred and twenty rupees, fifteen thousand of the *gross* revenue had been

estimated as the annual expenses of the mutual establishments of the two brothers. To the arrangement proposed by Mr. Martin, the younger brothers strongly objected; and proposed, in preference, to make over the Pergunnah to the British government, on condition of receiving the net revenue, whatever might be the amount. Mr. Martin was desired by the Governor-general to effect this arrangement, should Ameenooddeen appear still to wish it; but he preferred retaining the management of it in his own hands, in the hope that circumstances would improve.

Shunshooddeen, however, pressed his claim to the restoration of the Pergunnah so often, that it was at last, in September, 1833, insisted upon by government, on the ground that Ameenooddeen had failed to fulfil that article of the agreement which bound him to pay annually into the Delhi treasury, five thousand two hundred and ten rupees for his younger brother, though that brother had never complained; on the contrary, lived with him on the best possible terms, and was as averse as himself to the retransfer of the Pergunnah, on condition that they gave up their claims to a large share of the moveable property of their late father, which had been already decided in their favour in the court of first instance. Mr. W. Fraser, who had succeeded to the office of Governor-general's representative in the Delhi territories, remonstrated strongly against this measure; and wished to bring it again under the consideration of government, on the grounds that Zeeooddeen had never made any complaint against his brother Ameenooddeen, for want of punctuality in the payment of his share of the net revenue after the payment of their mutual establishments; that the two brothers would be deprived by this measure of an hereditary estate to the value of sixty thousand rupees in perpetuity, burthened with the condition, that they should have a suit already gained in the court of first instance to be gained in appeal, involving a sum that would yield them that annual sum, at the moderate

interest of six per cent. The grounds alleged by him were not considered valid; and the Pergunnah was made over to Shumshodeen. The Pergunnah now yields forty thousand rupees a year, and under good management may yield seventy thousand.

At Mr. Fraser's recommendation, Ameenooddeen went himself to Calcutta, and is said to have prevailed upon the government to take his case again into their consideration. Shumshodeen had become a debauched and licentious character; and having criminal jurisdiction within his own estate, no one's wife or daughter was considered safe; for when other means failed him, he did not scruple to employ assassins to effect his hated purposes, by removing the husband or father. Mr. Fraser became so disgusted with his conduct, that he would not admit him into his house when he came to Delhi, though he had, it may be said, brought him up as a child of his own; indeed he had been as fond of him as he could be of a child of his own; and the boy used to spend the greater part of his time with him. One day, after Mr. Fraser had refused to admit the Nawab to his house, Colonel Skinner, having some apprehensions that by such slights he might be driven to seek revenge by assassination, is said to have remonstrated with Mr. Fraser, as his oldest and most valued friend. Mr. Fraser told him that he considered the Nawab to be still but a boy; and the only way to improve him was to treat him as such. It was, however, more by these slights, than by any supposed injuries, that Shumshodeen was exasperated; and from that day he determined to have Mr. Fraser assassinated.

Having prevailed upon a man, Kureem Khan, who was at once his servant and boon companion, he sent him to Delhi with one of his carriages, which he was to have sold through Mr. M'Pherson, an European merchant of the city. He was ordered to stay there ostensibly for the purpose of learning the process of extracting copper from the fossil containing the ore, and purchasing dogs for the Nawab. He was to watch his opportunity, and

shoot Mr. Fraser whenever he might find him out at night, attended by only one or two orderlies; to be in no haste, but to wait till he found a favourable opportunity, though it should be for several months. He had with him a groom named Roopla, and a Mehwater attendant named Uneea, and they lodged in apartments of the Nawab's at Durreowgunge. He rode out morning and evening, attended by Uneea on foot, for three months, during which time he often met Mr. Fraser, but never under circumstances favourable to his purpose; and at last, in despair, returned to Ferozepore. Uneea had importuned him for leave to go home to see his children, who had been ill; and Kureem Khan did not like to remain without him. The Nawab was displeased with him for returning without leave, and ordered him to return to his post and effect the object of his mission. Uneea declined to return, and the Nawab recommended Kureem to take somebody else, but he had, he said, explained all his designs to this man, and it would be dangerous to entrust the secret to another; and he could, moreover, rely entirely upon the courage of Uneea on any trying occasion.

Twenty rupees were due to the treasury by Uneea, on account of the rent of the little tenement he held under the Nawab; and the treasurer consented, at the request of Kureem Khan, to receive this by small instalments, to be deducted out of the monthly wages he was to receive from him. He was, moreover, assured that he should have nothing to do but to cook and eat; and should share liberally with Kureem in the one hundred rupees he was taking with him in money, and the letter of credit upon the Nawab's bankers at Delhi, for one thousand rupees more. The Nawab himself came with them as far as the village of pre he used to hunt; and there Kureem requested change his groom, as he thought Roopla too shrewd a purpose. He wanted, he said, a stupid, sleepy old neither ask nor understand anything; but the

Nawab told him that Roopla was an old and quite servant, upon whose fidelity he could entirely rely; and Kureem consented to take him. Uneea's little tenement, upon which his wife and children resided, was only two miles distant, and he went to give instructions about gathering in the harvest, and to take leave of them. He told his wife that he was going to the capital on a difficult and dangerous duty, but that his companion, Kureem, would do it all no doubt. Uneea asked Kureem, before they left Nugeena, what was to be his reward; and he told him that the Nawab had promised them five villages in rent-free tenure. Uneea wished to learn from the Nawab himself what he might expect; and being taken to him by Kureem, was assured that he and his family should be provided for handsomely for the rest of their lives, if he did his duty well on this occasion. •

On reaching Delhi they took up their quarters near Colonel Skinner's house, in the Bulvenar's Ward, where they resided for two months. The Nawab had told Kureem to get a gun made for his purpose at Delhi, or purchase one, stating that his guns had all been purchased through Colonel Skinner, and would lead to suspicion if seen in his possession. On reaching Delhi, Kureem purchased an old gun, and desired Uneea to go to a certain man in the Chandoree Choke, and get it made in the form of a short blunderbuss, with a peculiar stock, that would admit of its being concealed under a cloak; and to say that he was going to Gwalior to seek service, if any one questioned him? The barrel was cut, and the instrument made exactly as Kureem wished it to be by the man whom he pointed out. They met Mr. Fraser every day, but never at night; and Kureem expressed regret that the Nawab should have so strictly enjoined him not to shoot him in the day time, which he thought he might do without much risk. Uneea got an attack of fever, and urged Kureem to give up the attempt, and return home, or at least permit him to do so. Kureem himself became weary, and said he would do so very soon if he could

not succeed ; but that he should certainly shoot *some European gentleman* before he set out, and tell his master that he had taken him for Mr. Fraser, to save appearances ! Uneea told him that this was a question between him and his master, and no concern of his.

At the expiration of two months, a peon came to learn what they were doing. Kureem wrote a letter by him to the Nawab, saying, " that *the dog* he wished was never to be seen without ten or twelve people about him ; and that he saw no chance whatever of finding him, except in the midst of them ; but that if he wished he would purchase this *dog* in the midst of the crowd." The Nawab wrote a reply, which was sent by a trooper, with orders that it should be opened in presence of no one but Uneea. The contents were—" I command you not to purchase *the dog* in presence of many persons, as its *price* will be greatly raised. You may purchase him before one person, or even two, but not before more. I am in no hurry, the longer the time you take the better ; but do not return without purchasing *the dog*." That is, without killing Mr. Fraser !

They went on every day to watch Mr. Fraser's movements. Leaving the horse with the groom, sometimes in one old ruin of the city, and sometimes in another, ready saddled for flight, with orders that he should not be exposed to the view of passers by, Kureem and Uneea used to pace the streets, and on several occasions fell in with him, but always found him attended by too many followers of one kind or another for their purpose. At last, on Sunday, the 13th of March, 1835, Kureem heard that Mr. Fraser was to attend a natch (dance) given by Hindoo Rao, the brother of the Byza Bae, who then resided at Delhi ; and determining to try whether he could not shoot him from horse-back, he sent away his groom as soon as he had ascertained that Mr. Fraser was actually at the dance. Uneea went in and mixed among the assembly ; and as soon as he saw Mr. Fraser rise to
intimation to Kureem, who ordered him to keep

behind, and make off as fast as he could, as soon as he should hear the report of his gun.

A little way from Hindoo Rao's house the road branches off; that to the left is straight, while that to the right is circuitous. Mr. Fraser was known always to take the straight road, and upon that Kureem posted himself, as the road up to the place where it branched off was too public for his purpose. As it happened, Mr. Fraser, for the first time, took the circuitous road to the right, and reached his home without meeting Kureem! Uneea placed himself at the cross way, and waited there till Kureem came up to him. On hearing that he had taken the right road, Kureem said, "that a man in Mr. Fraser's situation must be a strange (Kafir) unbeliever not to have such a thing as a torch with him in a dark night. Had he had what he ought," he said, "I should not have lost him this time!"

They passed him on the road somewhere or other almost every afternoon after this for seven days; but could never fall in with him after dark. On the eighth day, Sunday, the 22nd of March, Kureem went as usual, in the forenoon, to the great Mosque, to say his prayers; and on his way back in the afternoon he purchased some plums, which he was eating when he came up to Uneea, whom he found cooking his dinner. He ordered his horse to be saddled immediately; and told Uneea to make haste and eat his dinner, as he had seen Mr. Fraser at a party given by the Rajah of Kishengurh. "*When his time is come,*" said Kureem, "we shall no doubt find an opportunity to kill him, if we watch him carefully." They left the groom at home that evening, and proceeded to the Durgah (church) near the canal. Seeing Uneea with merely a stick in his hand, Kureem bid him go back and change it for a sword, while he went in and said his evening prayers.

On being rejoined by Uneea, they took the road to cantonments, which passed by Mr. Fraser's house; and Uneea observed,

"that the risk was hardly equal in this undertaking, he being on foot, while Kureem was on horseback : that he should be sure to be taken, while the other might have a fair chance of escape." It was now quite dark, and Kureem bid him stand by sword in hand ; and if any body attempted to seize his horse when he fired, cut him down, and be assured, that while he had life he would never suffer him, Uneea, to be taken. Kureem continued to patrol up and down on the high road, that nobody might notice him, while Uneea stood by the road side. At last, about eleven o'clock, they heard Mr. Fraser approach, attended by one trooper, and two Peons, on foot ; and Kureem walked his horse slowly, as if he had been going from the city to the cantonments, till Mr. Fraser came up within a few paces of him, near the gate leading into his house. Kureem Khan, on leaving his house, had put one large ball into his short blunderbuss ; and when confident that he should now have an opportunity of shooting Mr. Fraser, he put in two more small ones. As Mr. Fraser's horse was coming up on the left side, Kureem Khan turned round his ; and as he passed by, presented his blunderbuss fired—and all three balls passed into Mr. Fraser's breast. All three horses reared at the report and flesh—and Mr. Fraser fell dead on the ground. Kureem galloped off, followed a short distance by the trooper, and the two Peons went off and gave information to Major Pew and Cornet Robinson, who resided near the place. They came in all haste to the spot, and had the body taken to the deceased's own house ; but no signs of life remained. They reported the murder to the magistrate, and the city gates were closed, as the assassin had been seen to enter the city by the trooper.

Uneea ran home through the Cabul gate of the city, unperceived, while Kureem entered by the Ajmere gate, and passed first through the encampment of Hindoo Rao, to efface the traces of his recent visit. When he reached their lodgings, he found Uneea before him ; and Roopla, the groom, seeing his horse

in a sweat, told him that he had had a narrow escape—that Mr. Fraser had been killed, and orders given for the arrest of any horse-man that might be found in or near the city. He told him to hold his tongue, and take care of the horse; and calling for a light, he and Uneea tore up every letter he had received from Ferozepore, and dipped the fragments in water, to efface the ink from them. Uneea asked him what he had done with the blunderbuss, and was told that it had been thrown into a well. Uneea now concealed three flints that he kept about him in some sand in the upper story they occupied, and threw an iron ramrod, and two spare bullets, into a well, near the mosque.

The next morning, when he heard that the city gates had been all shut to prevent any one from going out till strict search should be made, Kureem became a good deal alarmed, and went to seek council from Mogul Beg, the friend of his master; but when in the evening he heard that they had been again opened, he recovered his spirits; and the next day he wrote a letter to the Nawab, saying that he had purchased the *dogs* that he wanted, and would soon return with them. He then went to Mr. M'Pherson, and actually purchased from him, for the Nawab, some dogs and pictures; and the following day sent Roopla, the groom, with them to Ferozepore, accompanied by two bearers. A pilgrim lodged in the same place with these men, and was present when Kureem came home from the murder, and gave his horse to Roopla. In the evening, after the departure of Roopla with the dogs, four men of the Goojur caste came to the place, and Kureem sat down and smoked a pipe with one of them, who said that he had lost his bread by Mr. Fraser's death, and should be glad to see the murderer punished—that he was known to have worn a green vest, and he hoped he would soon be discovered. The pilgrim came up to Kureem shortly after these four men went away; and said that he had heard from some one, that he, Kureem, was himself suspected of the murder.

to Mogul Beg, who told him not to be alarmed, that, happily, the *Regulations* were now in force in the Delhi territory, and that he had only to stick steadily to one story to be safe !

He now desired Uncea to return to Ferozepore with a letter to the Nawab, and to assure him that he would be staunch and stick to one story, though they should seize him and confine him in prison for twelve years. "He had," he said, "already sent off part of his clothes, and Uncea should now take away the rest, so that nothing suspicious should be left near him.

The next morning Uncea set out on foot, accompanied by Islamoollah, a servant of Mogul Beg's, who was also the bearer of a letter to the Nawab. They hired two ponies when they became tired, but both flagged before they reached Nugeena, whence Uncea proceeded to Ferozepore on a mare belonging to the native collector, leaving Islamoollah behind. He gave his letter to the Nawab, who desired him to describe the affair of the murder. He did so. The Nawab seemed very much pleased ; and asked whether Kureem appeared to be in any alarm. Uncea told him that he did not ; and had resolved to stick to one story, though he should be imprisoned for twelve years. "Kureem Khan," said the Nawab, turning to the brother-in-law of the former, Wasil Khan, and Hussun Alee, who stood near him—"Kureem Khan is a very brave man, whose courage may be always relied on!" He gave Uncea eighteen rupees ; and told him to change his name, and keep close to Wasil Khan. They retired together ; but while Wasil Khan went to his house, Uncea stood on the road unperceived, but near enough to hear Hussun Alee urge the Nawab to have him put to death immediately, as the only chance of keeping the fatal secret. He went off immediately to Wasil Khan, and prevailed upon him to give him leave to go home for that night to see his family, promising to be back the following early.

forthwith ; but had not been long at home when

he learned that Hussun Alee, and another confidential servant of the Nawab, were come in search of him with some troopers. He concealed himself in the roof of his house, and heard them ask his wife and children where he was, saying they wanted his aid in getting out some hyenas they had traced into their dens in the neighbourhood. They were told that he had gone back to Ferozepore, and returned; but were sent back by the Nawab to make a more careful search for him. Before they came, however, he had gone off to his friends Kumuroodeen and Johuree, two brothers who resided in the Rao Rajah's territory. To this place he was followed by some Melhwaties, whom the Nawab had induced, under the promise of a large reward, to undertake to kill him. One night he went to two acquaintances, Mukram and Shahamut, in a neighbouring village, and begged them to send to some English gentleman at Delhi, and solicit for him a pardon, on condition of his disclosing all the circumstances of Mr. Fraser's murder. They promised to get everything done for him through a friend in the police at Delhi, and set out for that purpose, while Uneea returned and concealed himself in the hills. In six days they came with a paper, purporting to be a promise of pardon, from the court of Delhi, and desired Kumurooden to introduce them to Uneea. He told them to return to him in three days, and he would do so; but he went off to Uneea in the hills, and told him that he did not think these men had really got the papers from the English gentlemen—that they appeared to him to be in the service of the Nawab himself! Uneea was, however, introduced to them when they came back, and requested that the paper might be read to him. Seeing through their designs, he again made off to the hills, while they went out in search, as they pretended, of a man to read it, but, in reality, to get some people who were waiting in the neighbourhood to assist in securing him, and taking him off to the Nawab.

Finding, on their return, that Uneea had escaped, they

offered high rewards to the two brothers if they would assist in tracing him out; and Johuree was taken to the Nawab, who offered him a very high reward if he would bring Uneea to him, or at least take measures to prevent his going to the English gentlemen. This was communicated to Uneea, who went through Bhurtpore to Bareilly, and from Bareilly to Secundrabad, where he heard, in the beginning of July, that both Kureem and the Nawab were to be tried for the murder; and that the judge, Mr. Colvin, had already arrived at Delhi to conduct the trial. He now determined to go to Delhi and give himself up. On his way he was met by Mr. Simon Fraser's man, who took him to Delhi, where he confessed his share in the crime, became king's evidence at the trial, and gave an interesting narrative of the whole affair.

Two water carriers, in attempting to draw up the brass jug of a carpenter, which had fallen into the well the morning after the murder, pulled up the blunderbuss which Kureem Khan had thrown into the same well. This was afterwards recognised by Uneea, and the man whom he pointed out as having made it for him. Two of the four Goojurs, who were mentioned as having visited Kureem immediately after the murder, went to Brigadier Fast, who commanded the troops at Delhi, fearing that the native officers of the European civil functionaries might be in the interest of the Nawab, and got them made away with. They told him that Kureem Khan seemed to answer the description of the man named in the proclamation as the murderer of Mr. Fraser; and he sent them with a note to the commissioner Mr. Metcalfe, who sent them to the magistrate, Mr. Fraser, who accompanied them to the place and secured Kureem, with some fragments of important papers. The two Mahwaties, who had been sent to assassinate Uneea, were found, and they confessed the fact: the brother of Uneea, Rahmnt, was found, and he described the difficulty he had to escape from the Nawab's people sent to murder him. The groom, who had been sent to guard Uneea, deposed to all that he had seen

during the time he was employed as Kureem's groom at Delhi. Several men deposed to having met Kureem, and heard him asking after Mr. Fraser a few days before the murder. The two peons who were with Mr. Fraser when he was shot, deposed to the horse which he rode at the time, and which was found with him.

Kureem Khan and the Nawab were both convicted of the crime, sentenced to death, and executed at Delhi. I should mention that suspicion had immediately attached to Kureem Khan; he was known for some time to have been lurking about Delhi, on the pretence of purchasing dogs; and it was said that had the Nawab really wanted dogs, he would not have sent to purchase them by a man whom he admitted to his table, and treated on terms of equality. He was suspected of having been employed on such occasions before—known to be a good shot, and a good rider, who could fire and reload very quickly while his horse was in full gallop, and called in consequence the Bharmaroo. His horse, which was found in the stable by the Goojur spies, who had before been in Mr. Fraser's service, answered the description given of the murderers' horse by Mr. Fraser's attendants; and the Nawab was known to cherish feelings of bitter hatred against Mr. Fraser.

The Nawab was executed some time after Kureem, on Thursday morning, the 3rd of October, 1835, close outside the north, or Cashmere Gate, leading to the cantonments. He prepared himself for the execution in an extremely rich and beautiful dress of light green, the colours which martyrs wear; but he was made to exchange this, and he then chose one of simple white, and was too conscious of his guilt to urge strongly his claim to wear what dress he liked on such an occasion.

The following crops were drawn up around the gallows, forming three sides of a square: the first regiment of cavalry, the twentieth, thirty-ninth, and sixty-ninth regiments of native in-

fantry; Major Pew's light field battery, and a strong party of police. On ascending the scaffold, the Nawab manifested symptoms of disgust at the approach to his person of the *sweeper*, who was to put the rope round his neck; but he soon mastered his feelings, and submitted with a good grace to his fate. Just as he expired his body made a last turn, and left his face towards the *west*, or the *tomb of his prophet*, which the Mahomedans of Delhi considered a miracle, indicating that he was a martyr—not as being innocent of the murder, but as being executed for the murder of an *unbeliever*! Pilgrimages were for some time made to the Nawab's tomb; but I believe they have long since ceased with the short gleam of sympathy that his fate excited. The only people that still recollect him with feelings of kindness are the prostitutes and dancing women of the city of Delhi, among whom most of his revenues were squandered. In the same manner was Wuzer Aleé recollected for many years by the prostitutes and dancing women of Benares, after the massacre of Mr. Cherry and all the European gentlemen of that station, save one, Mr. Davis, who bravely defended himself, wife, and children, against a host, with a hog spear, on the top of his house. No European could pass Benares for twenty years after Wuzer Aleé's arrest and confinement in the garrison of Fort William, without hearing from the windows songs in his praise, and in praise of the massacre.

It is supposed that the Nawab, Tyz Mahomed Khan, of Ghujper, was deeply implicated in this murder, though no proof of it could be found. He died soon after the execution of Shumshooddeen; and was succeeded in his fief by his eldest son, Tyz Aleé Khan. This fief was bestowed on the father of the deceased, whose name was Nijabut Aleé Khan, by Lord Lake, on the termination of the war in 1805, for the aid he had given to the retreat under Colonel Monson.

circumstance attending the execution of the Nawab

Shumshooden, seems worthy of remark. The magistrate, Mr. Frascott, desired his crier to go through the city the evening before the execution, and proclaim to the people, that those who might wish to be present at the execution were not to encroach upon the line of sentries that would be formed to keep clear an allotted space round the gallows—nor to carry with them any kind of arms; but the crier, seemingly retaining in his recollection only the words *arms* and *sentries*, gave out, after his *O yes, O yes*, that the sentries had orders to use their arms, and shoot any man, woman, or child that should presume to go outside the wall to look at the execution of the Nawab! No person, in consequence, ventured out till the execution was over, when they went to see the Nawab himself converted into smoke; as the general impression was, that as life should leave it, the body was to be blown off into the air by a general discharge of musketry and artillery! Mogul Beg was acquitted for want of judicial proof of his guilty participation in the crime.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARRIAGE OF A JAT CHIEF.

ON the 19th we came on to Balumgur, fifteen miles over a plain, better cultivated and more studded with trees than that which we had been coming over for many days before. The water was nearer the surface—more of the fields were irrigated; and those which were not so, looked better; range of sandstone hills, ten miles off to the west, running north and south. Balumgur is held in rent-free tenure, by a young Jât chief, now about ten years of age. He resides in a mud fort, in a handsome palace built in the European fashion. In an extensive orange garden, close outside the fort, he is building a very handsome tomb over the spot where his father's elder brother was buried. The whole is formed of white and black marble, and the fine white sandstone of Roopbass, and so well conceived and executed as to make it evident, that demand is the only thing wanting to cover India with works of art equal to any that were formed in the palmy days of the Mahomedan empire. The Rajah's young sister had just been married to the son of the Jât chief of Naba, who was accompanied in his matrimonial visit (berat) by the chief of Ludora, and the son of the Seikh chief of Putecalee, with a cortège of one hundred elephants, and above fifteen thousand people.* The

h is a military nation formed out of the Jâts, (who were without castes of the Hindoos.) by that strong bond of union, the and plunder. Their religious and civil codes are the Goorunts, their reputed prophets, the last of whom was Gooroo Govind. Ruljeet Sing stamps his gold coins with this legend. "The

young chief of Balumgur mustered a cortége of sixty elephants, and about ten thousand men, to attend him out in the *Istaekbal*, to meet and welcome his guests. The bridegroom's party had to expend about six hundred thousand rupees in this visit alone. They scattered copper money all along the road from their homes to within seven miles of Balumgur. From this point to the gate of the fort they had to scatter silver; and from this gate to the door of the palace they scattered gold and jewels of all kinds. The son of the Puteealee chief, a lad of about ten years of age, sat upon his elephant with a bag containing six hundred gold mohurs, of two guineas each, mixed up with an infinite variety of gold earrings, pearls, and precious stones, which he scattered in handfuls among the crowd. The scattering of the copper and silver had been left to inferior hands. The costs of the family of the bride are always much greater than that of the bridegroom. They are obliged to entertain, at their own expense, all the bridegroom's guests as well as their own, as long as they remain; and

sword, the *not* victory, and conquest, were quickly found in the grace of Gooroo Govind Sing." This prophet died insane in the end of the seventeenth century. He was the son of a priest, Teg Bahadur, who was made a martyr of by the bigoted Mahomedans of Patna, in 1675. The son became a Peter the hermit, in the same manner as Hergovind before him, when his father, the prophet Arjunmul, was made a martyr by the fanaticism of the same people. A few more such martyrdoms would have set the Sikhs up for ever. They admit converts freely, and while they have a fair prospect of conquest and plunder they will find them; but when they cease they will be swallowed up in the great ocean of Hindooism, since they have no chance of getting up 'an army of martyrs' while we have the supreme power. They detest us for the same reason that the military followers of the other native chiefs detest us, because we say, "thus far shall you go and no farther," in your career of conquest and plunder. As governors, they are even worse than the Mahrattas—utterly detestable. They have not the slightest idea of a duty towards the people from whose industry they are provided. Such a thing was never dreamed of by a Seikh. They continue to receive in marriage the daughters of Jats, as in this case; but they will not give their daughters in marriage to Jats.

over and above this, on the present occasion, the Rajah gave a rupee to every person that came, invited or uninvited. An immense concourse of people had assembled to share in this donation, and to scramble for the money scattered along the road ; and ready money enough was not found in the treasury. Before a further supply could be got, thirty thousand more had collected, and every one got his rupee. They have them all put into pens like sheep. When all are in, the doors are opened at a signal given, and every person is paid his rupee as he goes out. Some European gentlemen were standing upon the top of the Rajah's palace, looking at the procession as it entered the fort, and passed underneath ; and the young chief threw up some handfuls of pearls, gold, and jewels among them. Not one of them would of course condescend to stop to take up any ; but their servants showed none of the same dignified forbearance.



CHAPTER XVIII.

COLLEGIATE ENDOWMENT OF MAHOMEDAN TOMBS AND MOSQUES.

ON the 20th, we came to Budderpore, twelve miles over a plain, with the range of hills on our left approaching nearer and nearer the road, and separating us from the old city of Delhi. We passed through Fureedpore, once a large town, and called after its founder, Sheikh Furreed, whose mosque is still in good order, though there is no person to read or hear prayers in it. We passed also two fine bridges, one of three and one of four arches, both over what were once streams, but are now dry beds of sand. The whole road shows signs of having been once thickly peopled, and highly adorned with useful and ornamental works when Delhi was in its glory. Every handsome mausoleum among Mahomedans was provided with its mosque, and endowed by the founder with the means of maintaining men of learning, to read their Koran over the grave of the deceased and in his chapel; and as long as the endowment lasted, the tomb continued to be at the same time a college. They read the Quoran morning and evening over the grave, and prayers in the chapel at the stated periods; and the rest of their time is commonly devoted to the instruction of the youths of their neighbourhood, either gratis or for a small consideration. Apartments in the tomb were usually set aside for the purpose; and these tombs did ten times more for education in Hindoostan, than all the colleges formed especially for the purpose. We might suppose, that rulers who formed and endowed such works all over the land, must have had more of the

respect and the affections of the great mass of the people than we, who, as my friend upon the Jumna has it, "build nothing but private dwelling-houses, factories, courts of justice, and jails," can ever have; but this conclusion would not be altogether just. Though every mosque and mausoleum was a seat of learning, that learning, instead of being a source of attraction and conciliation between the Mahomedans and Hindoos, was, on the contrary, a source of perpetual repulsion and discord between them—it tended to keep alive in the breasts of the Mussulmans a strong feeling of religious indignation against the worshippers of idols; and of dread and hatred in those of the Hindoos. The Quoran was the book of books, spoken by God to the angel Gabriel, in parts as occasion required, and repeated by him to Mahomed; who, unable to write himself, dictated them to any one who happened to be present when he received the divine communications;* it contained all that it was worth man's while to study or know—it was from the Deity, but at the same time coeternal with him—it was his divine eternal spirit, inseparable from him from the beginning, and, therefore, like him, uncreated. This book, to read which was of itself declared to be the highest of all species of worship, taught war against the worshippers of idols, to be of all merits the greatest in the eye of God; and no man could well rise from the perusal without the wish to serve God by some act of outrage against them. These buildings were, therefore, looked upon by the Hindoos, who composed the great mass of the people, as a

* Mahomed is said to have received these communications in all situations; sometimes while riding along the road on his camel, he became suddenly red in the face, and greatly agitated; he made his camel sit down immediately, and called for some one to write. His rhapsodies were all written at the time on leaves and thrown into a box. Gabriel is believed to have made him repeat over the whole once every year during the month of Ramzan. On the year he died, Mahomed told his followers, that the angel had made him repeat them over twice that year, and that he was sure he would not live to receive another visit!

kind of religious volcanos, always ready to explode, and pour out their lava of intolerance and outrage upon the innocent people of the surrounding country.

If a Hindoo fancied himself injured or insulted by a Mahomedan, he was apt to revenge himself upon the Mahomedans generally, and insult their religion by throwing swine's flesh, or swine's blood, into one of their tombs or churches ; and the latter either flew to arms at once to avenge their God, or retaliated by throwing the flesh or the blood of the cow into the first Hindoo temple at hand, which made the Hindoos fly to arms. The guilty and the wicked commonly escaped, while numbers of the weak, the innocent, and the unoffending were slaughtered. The magnificent buildings, therefore, instead of being at the time bonds of union, were commonly sources of the greatest discord among the whole community, and of the most painful humiliation to the Hindoo population. During the bigoted reign of Ourungzebe and his successors, a Hindoo's presence was hardly tolerated within sight of these tombs or churches ; and had he been discovered entering one of them, he would probably have been hunted down like a mad dog. The recollection of such outrages, and the humiliations to which they gave rise, associated as they always are in the minds of the Hindoos with the sight of these buildings, are perhaps the greatest source of our strength in India ; because they at the same time feel, that it is to us alone they owe the protection which they now enjoy from similar injuries. Many of my countrymen, full of virtuous indignation at the outrages which often occur during the processions of the Mohurum, particularly when these happen to take place at the same time with some religious procession of the Hindoos, are very anxious that our government should interpose its authority to put down both. But these processions and occasional outrages are really sources of great strength to us ; they show at once the necessity for the interposition of an impartial tribunal, and a disposition on the part of the rulers to inter-

pose impartially. The Mahomedan festivals are regulated by the lunar, and those of the Hindoos by the solar year ; and they cross each other every thirty or forty years, and furnish fair occasions for the local authorities to interpose effectually. People who receive or imagine insults or injuries, commonly postpone their revenge till these religious festivals come round, when they hope to be able to settle their accounts with impunity among the excited crowd. The mournful procession of the *Mohurum*, when the Mahomedans are inflamed to madness by the recollection of the really affecting incidents of the massacre of the grandchildren of their prophet, and by the images of their tombs, and their sombre music, crosses that of the *Hooloe*, in which the Hindoos are excited to tumultuous and licentious joy by their *bacchanalian* songs and dances every thirty-six years ; and they reign together for some four or five days, during which the scene, in every large town, is really terrific. The processions are liable to meet in the street, and the lees of the wine of the Hindoos, or the red powder which is substituted for them, is liable to fall upon the tombs of the others. Hindoos pass on, forgetting in their saturnalian joy, all distinctions of age, sex, or religion, their clothes and persons besmeared with the red powder, which is moistened and thrown from all kinds of machines over friend and foe ; while meeting these come the Mahomedans, clothed in their green mourning, with gloomy downcast looks, beating their breasts, ready to kill themselves, and too anxious for an excuse to kill anybody else. Let but one drop of the lees of joy fall upon the image of the tomb as it passes, and a hundred swords fly from their scabbards ; many an innocent person falls ; and woe be to the town in which the magistrate is not at hand with his police and military force. Proudly conscious of their power, the magistrates refuse to prohibit one class from laughing because the other happens to be weeping ; and the Hindoos, on such occasions, laugh the more heartily to let the world see that they are free to do so.

A very learned Hindoo once told me in central India, that the oracle of Mahadeo had been, at the same time, consulted at three of his greatest temples—one in the Deccan, one in Rajpootana, and one I think in Bengal—as to the result of the government of India by Europeans, who seemed determined to fill all the high offices of administration with their own countrymen, to the exclusion of the people of the country. A day was appointed for the answer; and when the priest came to receive it, they found Mahadeo (Sewa) himself, with an European complexion, and dressed in European clothes! He told them, “that their European government was in reality nothing more than a multiplied incarnation of himself; and that he had come among them in this shape, to prevent their cutting each other’s throats as they had been doing for some centuries past; that these, his incarnations, appeared to have no religion themselves, in order that they might be the more impartial arbitrators, between the people of so many different creeds and sects, who now inhabited the country; that they must be aware that they never had before been so impartially governed, and that they must continue to obey these their governors, without attempting to pry further into futurity or the will of their gods.” Mahadeo performs a part in the great drama of the Ramaen, or the rape of Seeta; and he is the only figure there that is represented with a *white face*!

I was one day praising the law of primogeniture among ourselves, to a Mahomedan gentleman of high rank; and defending it on the ground, that it prevented that rivalry and bitterness of feeling among brothers, which were always found among the Mahomedans, whose law prescribes an equal division of property, real and personal, among the sons, and the *choice of the wisest* among them as successor to the government. “This,” said he, “is no doubt the source of our weakness; but why should you condemn a law which is to you a source of so much strength?”

"One day," said he, asked Mr. Seaton, the Governor-general's representative at the court of Delhi, which of all things he had seen in India he liked best? 'You have,' replied he smiling, 'a small species of melon called *phoot*, (disunion,) this is the thing we like best in your land.' There was," continued my Mahomedan friend, "an infinite deal of sound political wisdom in this one sentence. Mr. Seaton was a very good, and a very wise man—our European governors of the present day are not at all the same kind of thing. I asked Mr. B., a judge, the same question many years afterwards, and he told us that he thought the rupees were the best things he had found in India. I asked Mr. T., the commissioner, and he told me that he thought the tobacco which he smoked in his hookah was the best thing. And pray sir, what do you think the best thing?"

"Why, Nawab Sahib, I am always very well pleased when I am free from pain, and can get my nostrils full of cool air, and my mouth full of cold water in this hot land of yours; and I think most of my countrymen are the same. Next to these, the thing we all admire most in India, Nawab Sahib, is the entire exemption which you, and I, and every other gentleman, native or European, enjoy from the taxes which press so heavily upon them in other countries. In Cashmere, no midwife is allowed to attend a woman in her confinement till a heavy tax has been paid to Runjeet Sing for the infant; and in England, a man cannot let the light of heaven into his house till he has paid a tax for the window."

"Nor keep a dog, or shoot a partridge in the jungle, I am told," said the Nawab.

"Quite true, Nawab Sahib."

"Hindoostan, sir," said he, "is after all the best country in the world; the only thing wanted is a little more (roozgar) employment for the educated classes under government."

"True, Nawab Sahib, we might, no doubt, greatly multiply this employment to the advantage of those who got the places, but we should have to multiply at the same time the taxes, to the great disadvantage of those who did not get them."

"True, very true, sir," said my old friend.



CHAPTER XIX.

THE OLD CITY OF DELHI.

On the 21st, we went on eight miles to the Kootub Meenar, across the range of sandstone hills, which rise to the height of about two hundred feet, and run north and south. The rocks are for the most part naked, but here and there the soil between them is covered with *famished* grass, and a few stunted shrubs; anything more unprepossessing can hardly be conceived than the aspect of these hills, which seem to serve no other purpose than to store up heat for the people of the great city of Delhi. We passed through a cut in this range of hills, made apparently by the stream of the river Jumna at some remote period, and about one hundred yards wide at the entrance. This cut is crossed by an enormous stone wall, running north and south, and intended to shut in the waters, and form a lake in the opening beyond it. Along the brow of the precipice, overlooking the northern end of the wall, is the stupendous fort of *Tughluckabad*, built by the Emperor Tughluck the 1st, of the sandstones of the range of hills on which it stands, cut into enormous square blocks. On the brow of the opposite side of the precipice, overlooking the southern end of the wall, stands the fort of Mohumadabad, built by this Emperor's son and successor, Mahomed, and resembling in all things that built by his father. These fortresses overlooked the lake, with the old city of Delhi spread out on the opposite side of it to the west. There is a third fortress upon an isolated hill, east of the great barrier wall, said to have been built in honour of his master by the Emperor Tughluck's barber. The

Emperor's tomb stands upon an isolated rock in the middle of the once lake, now plain, about a mile to the west of the barrier wall. The rock is connected with the western extremity of the northern fortress, by a causeway of twenty-five arches, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. This is a fine tomb, and contains in a square centre room the remains of the Emperor Tughluck, his wife, and his son. The tomb is built of red sandstone, and surmounted by a dome of white marble. The three graves inside are built of brick, covered with stucco work.

The outer sides of the tomb slope slightly inwards from the base, in the form of a pyramid; but the inner walls are of course perpendicular. The impression left on the mind after going over the ruins of these stupendous fortifications is, that the arts which contribute to the comforts and elegancies of life, must have been in a very rude state when they were raised. Domestic architecture must have been wretched in the extreme. The buildings are all of stone, and almost all without cement, and seem to have been raised by giants, and for giants whose arms were against everybody and everybody's arm against them. This was indeed the state of the Patan sovereigns in India—they were the creatures of their armies; and their armies were always employed against the people, who feared and detested them all.

The Emperor Tughluck, on his return at the head of the army, which he had led into Bengal to chastise some rebellious subjects, was met at Afghanpore by his eldest son Jonah, whom he had left in the government of the capital. The prince had in three days raised here a palace of wood for a grand entertainment to do honour to his father's return; and when the Emperor signified his wish to retire, all the courtiers rushed out before him to be in attendance, and among the rest, Jonah himself. Five attendants only remained when the Emperor rose from his seat; and at that moment the building fell in and crushed them and their master! Jonah had been sent at the head of an army

into the Deccan where he collected immense wealth from the plunder of the palaces of princes and the temples of their priests, the only places in which much wealth was to be found in those days. This wealth he tried to conceal from his father, whose death he probably thus contrived, that he might the sooner have the free enjoyment of it with unlimited power. Only thirty years before, Allaooddeen, returning in the same manner at the head of an army from the Deccan loaded with wealth, murdered the Emperor Feroze the 2nd, the father of his wife, and ascended the throne. Jonah ascended the throne under the name of Mahomed the 3rd ; and after the remains of his father had been deposited in the tomb I have described, he passed in great pomp and splendour from the fortress of Tughluckabad, which his father had just then completed, to the city in which the Meenar stands, with elephants before and behind loaded with gold and silver coins, which were scattered among the crowd, who everywhere hailed him with shouts of joy ! The roads were covered with flowers, the houses adorned with the richest stuffs, and the streets resounded with music !

He was a man of great learning, and a great patron of learned men ; he was a great founder of churches, * had prayers read in them all at the prescribed times, and always went to prayers five times a day himself.* He was rigidly temperate

* A Mahomedan must, if he can, say his prayers with the prescribed forms five times in the twenty-four hours ; and on Friday, which is their sabbath, he must, if he can, say these prayers in the church-musjid. On other days he may say them where he pleases. Every prayer must begin with the first chapter of the Koran—this is the grace to every prayer. This said, the person may put in what other prayers of the Koran he pleases, and ask for that which he most wants as long as it does not injure other Mussulmans. This is the first chapter of the Koran ; “ Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures—the most merciful—the king of the day of judgment, Thee do we worship ; and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way—in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious ; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray.”

himself in his habits, and discouraged all intemperance in others. These things secured him panegyrist^s throughout the empire during the twenty-seven years that he reigned over it ; though perhaps he was the most detestable tyrant that ever filled a throne. He would take his armies out over the most populous and peaceful districts, and hunt down the innocent and unoffending people like wild beasts, and bring home their heads by thousands to hang them on the city gates for his mere amusement ! He twice made the whole people of the city of Delhi emigrate with him to Dowlutabad, in southern India, which he wished to make the capital, from some foolish fancy ; and during the whole of his reign, gave evident signs of being in an unsound state of mind !

There was, at the time of his father's death, a saint at Delhi, named Nizamooddeen Ouleea, or the saint, who was supposed by supernatural means to have driven from Delhi, one night in a panic, a large army of Moguls under Turmachurn, who invaded India from Transoxiana, in 1303, and laid close siege to the city of Delhi, in which the Emperor Allaooddeen was shut up without troops to defend himself, his armies being engaged in southern India. It is very likely that he did strike this army with a panic by getting some of their leaders assassinated in one night. He was supposed to have the "*dust-ol-ghyb*," or *supernatural purse*, as his private expenditure is said to have been more lavish even than that of the Emperor himself, while he had no ostensible source of income whatever. The Emperor was either jealous of his influence and display, or suspected him of dark crimes, and threatened to humble him when he returned to Delhi. As he approached the city, the friends of the saint, knowing the resolute spirit of the Emperor, urged him to quit the capital, as he had been often heard to say, " Let me but reach Delhi, and this proud priest shall be humbled ! " The only reply that the saint would ever deign to give from the time the imperial army left Bengal,

till it was within one stage of the capital, was "Delhi door ust." Delhi is still far off! This is now become a proverb over the east, equivalent to our, "there is many a slip between the cup and the lip." It is probable, that the saint had some understanding with the son in his plans for the murder of his father; it is possible, that his numerous wandering disciples may in reality have been murderers and robbers; and that he could at any time have procured through them the assassination of the Emperor. The Mahomedan Thugs, or assassins of India, certainly looked upon him as one of the great founders of their system; and used to make pilgrimages to his tomb as such; and as he came originally from Persia, and is considered by his greatest admirers to have been in his youth a robber, it is not altogether impossible that he may have been originally one of the assassins or disciples of the "old man of the mountains;" and that he may have set up the system of Thuggee in India, and derived a great portion of his income from it. Emperors now prostrate themselves at his tomb and aspire to have their bones placed near it. While wandering about the ruins, I remarked to one of the learned men of the place who attended us, that it was singular Tughluck's buildings should be so rude compared with those of Yulteemush, who had reigned more than eighty years before him. "Not at all singular," said he; "was he not under the curse of the holy saint Nizamooddeen?" "And what had the Emperor done to incur the holy man's curse?" "He had taken by force to employ upon his palaces, several of the masons whom the *holy man* was employing upon a *church*," said he.

The Kootub Meenar was, I think, more beyond my expectations than the Taj; first, because I had heard less of it; and secondly, because it stands as it were alone in India—there is absolutely no other tower in this Indian empire of ours. Large pillars have been cut out of single stones, and raised in different parts of India to commemorate the conquests of Hindoo princes,

whose names no one was able to discover for several centuries, till an unpretending English gentleman of surprising talents and industry, Mr. James Prinsep, lately brought them to light by mastering the obsolete characters in which they and their deeds had been inscribed upon them. These pillars would, however, be utterly insignificant were they composed of many stones. The knowledge that they are cut out of single stones, brought from a distant mountain, and raised by the united efforts of multitudes when the mechanical arts were in a rude state, makes us still view them with admiration. But the single majesty of this Meenar of Kootubooddeen, so grandly conceived, so beautifully proportioned, so chastely embellished, and so exquisitely finished, fills the mind of the spectator with emotions of wonder and delight; without any such aid, he feels that it is among the towers of the earth, what the Taj is among the tombs—something unique of its kind that must ever stand alone in his recollections.

It is said to have taken forty-four years in building, and formed the left of two Meenars of a mosque. The other Meenar was never raised, but this has been preserved and repaired by the liberality of the British government. It is only two hundred and forty-two feet high, and one hundred and six feet in circumference at the base. It is circular, and fluted vertically into twenty-seven semicircular and angular divisions. There are four balconies supported upon large stone brackets, and surrounded with battlements of richly cut stone, to enable people to walk round the tower with safety. The first is ninety feet from the base, the second fifty feet further up, the third forty feet further; and the fourth twenty-four feet above the third. Up to the third balcony, the tower is built of fine but somewhat ferruginous sandstone, whose surface has become red from exposure to the oxygen of the atmosphere. Up to the first balcony, the flutings are alternately semicircular and angular: in the second story they are all semicircular, and in the third all angular. From the third balcony

to the top, the building is composed chiefly of white marble ; and the surface is without the deep flutings. Around the first story there are five horizontal belts of passages from the Koran, engraved in bold relief, and in the Kufic character. In the second story there are four, and in the third three. The ascent is by a spiral staircase within, of three hundred and eighty steps ; and there are passages from this staircase to the balconies, with others here and there for the admission of light and air.

A foolish notion has prevailed among some people, overfond of paradox, that this tower is in reality a Hindoo building, and not, as commonly supposed, a Mahomedan one. Never was paradox supported upon more frail, I might say, absurd foundations. They are these—1st, that there is only one Meenar, whereas there ought to have been two—had the unfinished one been intended as the second, it would not have been, as it really is, larger than the first ; 2nd, that other Meenars seen in the present day either do not slope inward, from the base up, at all, or do not slope so much as this. I tried to trace the origin of this paradox, and I think I found it in a silly old Moonshee in the service of the Emperor. He told me that he believed it was built by a former Hindoo prince for his daughter, who wished to worship the rising sun, and view the waters of the Jumna from the top of it every morning.

There is no other Hindoo building in India at all like, or of the same kind as this ; the ribbons or belts of passages from the Koran are all in relief, and had they not been originally inserted as they are, the whole surface of the building must have been cut down to throw them out in bold relief. The slope is the peculiar characteristic of all the architecture of the Pythans, by whom the church to which this tower belongs was built. Nearly all the arches of the church are still standing in a more or less perfect state, and all correspond in design, proportion, and execution, to the tower. The ruins of the old Hindoo temples about the place,

and about every other place in India, are totally different in all three; here they are all exceedingly paltry and insignificant, compared with the church and its tower, and it is evident, that it was the intention of the founder to make them appear so to future generations of the faithful, for he has taken care to make his own great work support rather than destroy them, that they might for ever tend to enhance its grandeur.

It is sufficiently clear that the unfinished Meenar was commenced first, upon too large a scale, and with too small a diminution of the circumference from the base upwards. It is two fifths larger than the finished tower in circumference, and much more perpendicular. Finding these errors when they had got some thirty feet from the foundation, the founder, Shumshoodeen, began the work anew, and had he lived a little longer, there is no doubt that he would have raised the second tower in its proper place, upon the same scale as the one completed. His death was followed by several successive revolutions; five sovereigns succeeded each other on the throne of Delhi in ten years. As usual on such occasions, works of peace were suspended; and succeeding sovereigns sought renown in military enterprises rather than in building churches. This church was entire, with the exception of the second Meenar, when Tamerlane invaded India. He took back a model of it with him to Samarcund, together with all the masons he could find at Delhi, and is said to have built a church upon the same plan at that place, before he set out for the invasion of Syria.

The west face of the quadrangle, in which the tower stands, formed the church, which consisted of eleven large arched alcoves, the centre and largest of which contained the pulpit. In size and beauty they seem to have corresponded with the Meenar; but they are now all in ruins. In the front of the centre of these alcoves stands the metal pillar of the old Hindoo sovereign of Delhi, Prethee Raj, across whose temple all the great mosque, of

which this tower forms a part, was thrown in triumph. The ruins, of these temples lie scattered all round the place ; and consist of colonnades of stone pillars and pedestals, richly enough carved with human figures, in attitudes rudely and obscenely conceived. The small pillar is of bronze, or a metal which resembles bronze, and is softer than brass, and of the same form precisely as that of the stone pillar at Erun, on the Beena river in Malwa, upon which stands the figure of Krishna, with the glory around his head. It is said that this metal pillar was put down through the earth, so as to rest upon the very head of the snake that supports the world ; and that the sovereign who made it, and fixed it upon so firm a basis, was told by his spiritual advisers, that his dynasty should last as long as the pillar remained where it was. Anxious to see that the pillar was really where the priests supposed it to be, that his posterity might be quite sure of their position, Prethce Raj had it taken up, and he found the blood and some of the flesh of the snake's head adhering to the bottom. By this means the charm was broken, and the priests told him that he had destroyed all the hopes of his house by his want of *faith* in their assurances. I have never met a Hindoo that doubted either that the pillar was really upon this snake's head, or that the King lost his crown by his want of *faith* in the assurance of his priests ! They all believe that the pillar is still stuck into the head of the great snake, and that no human efforts of the present day could remove it. On my way back to my tents, I asked the old Hindoo officer of my guard, who had gone with me to see the metal pillar, "What he thought of the story of the pillar?"

"What the people relate about this *Khillce* (pillar) having been stuck into the head of the snake that supports the world, sir, is nothing more than a simple *historical fact* known to everybody. Is it not so, my brothers?" said he, turning to the Hindoo sepahces and followers around us, who all declared that no fact could ever be better established!

"When the Rajah" continued the old soldier, "had got the pillar fast into the head of the snake, he was told by his chief priest that his dynasty must now reign over Hindoostan for ever. 'But,' said the Rajah, 'as all seems to depend upon the pillar being on the head of the snake, we had better see that it is so with our own eyes.' He ordered it to be taken up; the clergy tried to dissuade him, but all in vain. Up it was taken—the flesh and the blood of the snake were found upon it—the pillar was replaced; but a voice was heard saying—'Thy want of faith hath destroyed thee—thy reign must soon end, and with it that of thy race.'"

I asked the old soldier from whence the voice came.

He said this was a point that had not, he believed, been quite settled. Some thought it was from the serpent himself below the earth—others that it came from the high priest, or some of his clergy! "Wherever it came from," said the old man, "there is no doubt that God decreed the Rajah's fall for his want of *faith*; and fall he did soon after."

All our followers concurred in this opinion, and the old man seemed quite delighted to think that he had had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon so great a question before so respectable an audience.

The Emperor Shumshodeen Altumsh is said to have designed this great Mahomedan church at the suggestion of Khojah Kootub-ooddeen, a Mahomedan saint from Ouse, in Persia, who was his religious guide and apostle—and died some sixteen years before him. His tomb is among the ruins of this old city. Pilgrims visit it from all parts of India, and go away persuaded that they shall have all they have asked, provided they have given or promised liberally in a pure spirit of faith in his influence with the Deity. The tomb of the saint is covered with gold brocade, and protected by an awning—those of the Emperors around it lie naked and exposed. Emperors and princes in abundance lie all

around him ; and their tombs are entirely disregarded by the hundreds that daily prostrate themselves before his, and have been doing so for the last six hundred years. Among the rest I saw here the tomb of Mouzzim, alias Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Ourungzebe, and that of the blind old Emperor Shah Alum, from whom the honourable Company got their Dewanee grant. The grass grows upon the slab that covers the remains of Mouzzim—the most learned, most pious, and most amiable, I believe, of the crowned descendants of the great Akbar. These kings and princes all try to get a place as near as they can to the remains of such old saints, believing that the ground is more holy than any other, and that they may give them a lift on the day of resurrection ! The heir apparent to the throne of Delhi visited the tomb the same day that I did.* He was between sixty and seventy years of age. I asked some of the attendants of the tomb, on my way back, what he had come to pray for ; and was told that no one knew, but every one supposed it was for the death of the Emperor, his father, who was only fifteen years older, and was busily engaged in promoting an intrigue at the instigation of one of his wives, to oust him, and get one of her sons, Mirza Saleem, acknowledged as his successor by the British government. It was the Hindoo festival of the Busunt, and all the avenues to the tomb of this old saint were crowded when I visited it. Why the Mahomedans crowded to the tomb on a Hindoo holiday I could not ascertain.

The Emperor Altumsh, who died A. D. '1335, is buried close behind one end of the arched alcove, in a beautiful tomb without its cupola. He built the tomb himself, and left orders that there should be no *purdah* (screen) between him and heaven ; and no dome was thrown over the building in consequence. Other great men have done the same, and their tombs look as if their domes

* He is now Emperor, having succeeded his father, Akbar Shah, in 1837.

had fallen in ; they think the way should be left clear for a start on the day of resurrection. The church is stated to have been added to it by the Emperor Baleen, and the Meenar finished. About the end of the seventeenth century it was so shaken by an earthquake, that the two upper stories fell down. Our government, when the country came into our possession, undertook to repair these two stories, and entrusted the work to Captain Smith, who built up one of stone, and the other of wood, and completed the repairs in three years. The one was struck by lightning eight or nine years after, and came down. If it was anything like the one that is left, the lightning did well to remove it. About five years ago, while the Emperor was on a visit to the tomb of Kootub-ood-deen, a madman got into his private apartments. The servants were ordered to turn him out. On passing the Meenar he ran in, ascended to the top, stood a few moments on the verge, laughing at those who were running after him, and made a spring that enabled him to reach the bottom, without touching the sides. An eye-witness told me that he kept his erect position till about half-way down, when he turned over, and continued to turn till he got to the bottom, where his fall made a report like a gun. He was of course dashed to pieces. About five months ago another fell over by accident, and was dashed to pieces against the sides. A new road has been here cut through the tomb of the Emperor Alla-ood-deen, who murdered his father-in-law—the first Mahomedan conqueror of southern India, and his remains have been scattered to the winds.

A very pretty marble tomb, to the west of the alcoves, covers the remains of Imam Mushudee, the religious guide of the Emperor Akbar ; and a magnificent tomb of freestone covers those of one of his four foster brothers. This was long occupied as a dwelling-house by the late Mr. Blake, of the Bengal civil service, who was lately barbarously murdered at Jeypoor. To make room for his dining-tables he removed the marble slab, which covered

the remains of the dead, from the centre of the building; against the urgent remonstrance of the people, and threw it carelessly on one side against the wall, where it now lies. The people appealed in vain, it is said, to Mr. Fraser, the Governor-general's representative, who was soon after assassinated; and a good many attribute the death of both to this outrage upon the remains of the dead foster-brother of Akbar. Those of Alla-ood-deen were, no doubt, older and less sensitive. Tombs equally magnificent cover the remains of the other three foster-brothers of Akbar, but I did not enter them.



CHAPTER XX.

NEW DELHI OR SHAHJEHANABAD.

ON the 22nd of January, 1836, we went on twelve miles to the new city Delhi, built by the Emperor Shah Jehan, and called after him Shahjehanabad; and took up our quarters in the palace of the Begum Sumroo, a fine building, agreeably situated in a garden opening into the great street, with a branch of the great canal running through it, and as quiet as if it had been in a wilderness. We had obtained from the Begum permission to occupy this palace during our stay. It was elegantly furnished, the servants were all exceedingly attentive, and we were very happy.

The Kootub Meenar stands upon the back of the sandstone range of low hills, and the road descends over the north-eastern face of this range for half a mile, and then passes over a level plain all the way to the new city, which lies on the right bank of the river Jumna. The whole plain is literally covered with the remains of splendid Mahomedan mosques and Mausoleums. These Mahomedans seem as if they had always in their thoughts the saying of Christ, which Akbar has inscribed on the gateway at Futtehpore Secree, "Life is a bridge which you are to pass over, and not to build your dwellings upon." The buildings which they have left behind them have almost all a reference to a future state—they laid out their means in a church, in which the Deity might be propitiated; in a tomb where learned and pious men might chant their Koran over their remains, and youth be instructed in their duties; in a sarac, a bridge, a canal built gratui

tously for the public good, that those who enjoyed their advantages from generation to generation might pray for the repose of their souls. How could it be otherwise, where the land was the property of government, where capital was never concentrated or safe, where the only aristocracy was that of office, while the Emperor was the sole recognised heir of all his public officers. The only things that he could not inherit, were his tombs, his temples, his bridges, his canals, and his caravansaries. I was acquainted with the history of most of the great men whose tombs and temples, I visited along the road ; but I asked in vain for a sight of the palaces they occupied in their day of pride and power. They all had, no doubt, good houses agreeably situated, like that of the Begum Sunroo, in the midst of well-watered gardens and shrubberies, delightful in their season ; but they cared less about them—they knew that the Emperor was heir to every member of the great body to which they belonged, the *aristocracy of office* ; and might transfer all their wealth to his treasury, and all their palaces to his successors, the moment the breath should be out of their bodies. If their sons got office, it would neither be in the same grades, nor in the same places as those of their fathers.

How different it is in Europe where our aristocracy is formed upon a different basis ; no one knows where to find the tombs in which the remains of great men who have passed away, repose ; or the churches and colleges they have founded ; or the saraces, the bridges, the canals they formed gratuitously for the public good ; but everybody knows where to find their “proud palaces”—“life is not to them a bridge over which they are to pass, and not build their dwellings upon ?” The eldest sons enjoy all patrimonial estates ; and employ them as best they may to get their younger brothers into situations in the church, the army, the navy and other public establishments, in which they may be honourably and liberally provided for out of the public purse.

About half way between the great tower and the new city, on the left hand side of the road, stands the tomb of Munsoor Ally Khan, the great grandfather of the present King of Oude. Of all the tombs to be seen in this immense extent of splendid ruins, this is perhaps the only one raised over a subject, the family of whose inmates are now in a condition even to keep it in repair. It is a very beautiful mausoleum, built after the model of the Taj at Agra; with this difference, that the external wall around the quadrangle of the Taj is here, as it were, thrown back, and closed in upon the tomb. The beautiful gateway at the entrance of the gardens of the Taj forms each of the four sides of the tomb of Munsoor Ally Khan, with all its elaste beauty of design, proportion, and ornament. The quadrangle in which this mausoleum stands is about three hundred and fifty yards square, surrounded by a stone wall, with handsome gateways, and filled in the same manner as that of the Taj at Agra, with cisterns and fruit-trees. Three kinds of stones are used,—white marble, red sandstone, and the fine white and fleshcoloured sandstone of Roopbas. The dome is of white marble, and exactly of the same form as that of the Taj; but it stands on a neck or base of sandstone, with twelve sides, and the white marble is of a quality very inferior to that of the Taj. It is of coarse dolomite, and has become a good deal discoloured by time, so as to give it the appearance which Bishop Heber noticed, of *potted meat*. The neck is not quite so long as that of the Taj, and is better covered by the marble cupolas that stand above each face of the building. The four noble minarets are however wanting. The apartments are all in number and form exactly like those of the Taj, but they are somewhat less in size. In the centre of the first floor lies the beautiful marble slab that bears the date of this small *pillar of a tottering state*, A. H. 1167; and in a vault underneath, repose his remains, by the side of those of one of his grand-daughters. The graves that cover these remains are of plain earth, strewed with fresh

flowers, and covered with plain cloth. About two miles from this tomb to the east stands that of the father of Akbar, Hoomaeeoon, a large and magnificent building. As I rode towards this building to see the slab that covers the head of poor Dara Sheekoh, I frequently cast a lingering look behind, to view, as often as I could, this very pretty imitation of the most beautiful of all the tombs of the earth.

On my way I turned in to see the tomb of the celebrated saint, Nizamooddeen Oulcea, the defeater of the Transoxianian army under Turmachurn, in 1303, to which pilgrimages are still made from all parts of India.* It is a small building, surmounted by a white marble dome, and kept very clean and neat. By its side is that of the poet Khusroo, his contemporary and friend, who moved about where he pleased through the palace of the Emperor Tughluck Shah the First, five hundred years ago, and sang, extempore, to his lyre, while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul. His popular songs are still the most popular; and he is one of the favoured few who live through ages in the everyday thoughts and feelings of many millions, while the crowned heads that patronized them in their brief day of pomp and power are forgotten, or remembered merely as they happened to be connected with them. His tomb has also a dome, and the grave is covered with rich brocade, and attended with as much reverence and devotion as that of the great saint himself, while those of the emperors, kings, and princes, that have been crowded around them, are entirely disregarded. A number of people are employed to read the Koran over the grave of the old saint, who died A. H. 725, and are paid

* Nizamooddeen was the disciple of Furreedooddeen Gunj Shukur, so called from his look being sufficient to convert clods of earth into lumps of sugar. Furreed was the disciple of Kootubooddeen, of old Delhi, who was the disciple of M. ooddeen, of Ajmer--the greatest of all their saints.

by contributions from the present Emperor, and the members of his family, who occasionally come in their hour of need, to entreat his intercession with the Deity in their favour, and by the humble pilgrims who flock from all parts for the same purpose. A great many boys are here educated by these readers of their sacred volume. All my attendants bowed their heads to the dust before the shrine of the saint, but they seemed especially indifferent to those of the royal family, which are all open to the sky. Respect shown or neglect towards them could bring neither good nor evil; while any slight to the tomb of the *crusty old saint* might be of serious consequence!

In an enclosure formed by marble screens, beautifully carved, is the tomb of the favourite son of the present Emperor, Mirza Juhangeer, whom I knew intimately at Allahabad, in 1816, when he was killing himself as fast as he could with Hoffman's cherry brandy. "This," he would say to me, "is really the only liquor that you Englishmen have worth drinking; and its only fault is that it makes one drunk too soon!" To prolong his pleasure, he used to limit himself to one large glass every hour, till he got dead drunk. Two or three sets of dancing women and musicians used to relieve each other in amusing him during this interval. He died of course soon, and the poor old Emperor was persuaded by his mother, the favourite sultana, that he had fallen a victim to *sighing* and grief at the treatment of the English, who would not permit him to remain at Delhi, where he was continually employed in attempts to assassinate his eldest brother, the heir apparent, and to stir up insurrections among the people. He was not in confinement at Allahabad, but merely prohibited from returning to Delhi. He had a splendid dwelling, a good income, and all the honours due to his rank.

In another enclosure of the same kind, are the Emperor Mahomed Shah—who reigned when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi—his mother, wife, and daughter; and in another, close by, is the

tomb which interested me most—that of Jehanara Begum, the favourite sister of poor Dara Shekoh, and daughter of Shah Jehan. It stands in the same enclosure, with the brother of the present Emperor on one side, and his daughter on the other. Her remains are covered with a marble slab hollow at the top, and exposed to the sky—the hollow is filled with earth covered with green grass. Upon her tomb is the following inscription, the three first lines of which are said to have been written by herself.

“Let no rich canopy cover my grave. This grass is the best covering for the tombs of the poor in spirit. The humble, the transitory Jehanara, the disciple of the holy men of Cheest, the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan.”

I went over the magnificent tomb of Hoomaeeoon, which was raised over his remains by his son the Emperor Akbar. It stands in the centre of a quadrangle of about four hundred yards square, with a cloistered wall all round; but I must not describe any more tombs. Here, under a marble slab, lies the head of poor Dara Shekoh, who but for a little infirmity of temper had, perhaps, changed the destinies of India, by changing the character of education among the aristocracy of the countries under his rule, and preventing the birth of the Mahratta powers, by leaving untouched the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, upon whose ruins, under his bigoted brother, the former rose. Secular and religious education were always inseparably combined among the Mahomedans, and invited to India from Persia by the public offices, civil and military, which men of education and courtly manners could alone obtain. These offices had long been filled exclusively by such men, who flocked in crowds to India from Khorassan and Persia. Every man qualified by secular instruction to make his way at court, and fill such offices, was disposed by his religious instruction to assert the supremacy of his creed, and to exclude the followers of every other from the employments over which he had any control. The aristocracy of office was the

ocean to which this stream of Mahomedan education flowed from the west, and spread all over India; and had Dara subdued his brothers, and ascended the throne, he would probably have arrested the flood by closing the public offices against these Persian adventurers, and filling them with Christians and Hindoos. This would have changed the character of the aristocracy and the education of the people.

While looking upon the slab under which his head reposes, I thought of the slight "accidents by flood and field," the still slighter thought of the brain and feeling of the heart, on which the destinies of nations and of empires often depend—on the discovery of the great diamond in the mines of Golconda—on the accident which gave it into the hands of an ambitious Persian adventurer—on the thought which suggested the advantage of presenting it to Shah Jehan—on the feeling which made Dara get off, and Ourungzebe sit on his elephant at the battle of Samongur, on which depended the fate of India, and perhaps the advancement of the Christian religion and European literature and science over India. But for the accident which gave Charles Martel the victory over the Saracens at Tours, Arabic and Persian had perhaps been the classical languages, and Islamism the religion of Europe; and where we have cathedrals and colleges we might have had mosques and mausoleums, and America and the Cape, the compass and the press, the steam-engine, the telescope, and the Copernican system, might have remained still undiscovered; and but for the accident which turned Hannibal's face from Rome after the battle of Cannæ, or that which intercepted his brother Asdrubal's letter, we might now all be speaking the languages of Tyre and Sidon, and roasting our own children in offerings to Sewa or Saturn, instead of saving those of the Hindoos! Poor Dara! but for thy little jealousy of thy father and thy son, thy desire to do all the work without their aid, and those occasional ebullitions of passion which alienated from thee the most power-

ful of the Hindoo princes, whom it was so much thy wish and thy interest to cherish, thy generous heart and enlightened mind had reigned over this vast empire, and made it, perchance, the garden it deserves to be made.

I visited the celebrated mosque known by the name of Jumma Musjid, a fine building raised by Shah Jehan, and finished in six years, A.H. 1060, at a cost of ten lacks of rupees, or one hundred thousand pounds. Money compared to man's labour and subsistence is still four times more valuable in India than in England, and a similar building in England would cost at least four hundred thousand pounds. It is like all the buildings raised by this Emperor, in the best taste and style. I was attended by three very well dressed and modest Hindoos, and a Mahomedan servant of the Emperor. My attention was so much taken up with the edifice, that I did not perceive till I was about to return, that the doorkeepers had stopped my three Hindoos. I found that they had offered to leave their shoes behind, and submit to anything to be permitted to follow me: but the porters had, they said, strict orders to admit no *worshippers of idols*; for their master was a *man of the book*, and had therefore got a little of the *truth* in him, though unhappily not much, since his heart had not been opened to that of the Koran. Nuthoo could have told him, that he also had a *book*, which he and some fourscore millions more thought as good as his or better; but he was afraid to descant upon the merits of his shasters, and the miracles of Kishen Jee, among such fierce cut-throat looking people; he looked, however, as if he could have eaten the porter, Koran and all, when I came to their rescue. The only volumes which Mahomedans designate by the name of the *book*, are the old and new Testament, and the Koran.

I visited also the palace, which was built by the same Emperor. It stands on the right bank of the Jumna, and occupies a quadrangle surrounded by a high wall built of red sandstone, about one mile in circumference; one side looks down into the

clear stream of the Jumna, while the others are surrounded by the streets of the city. The entrance is by a noble gateway to the west; and facing this gateway on the inside, a hundred and twenty yards distant, is the Dewani Aam, or the common hall of audience. This is a large hall, the roof of which is supported upon four colonnades of pillars of red sandstone, now whitewashed, but once covered over with stucco work and gilded. On one of these pillars is shown the mark of the dagger of a Hindoo prince of Chittore, who, in the presence of the Emperor, stabbed to the heart one of the Mahomedan ministers who made use of some disrespectful language towards him. On being asked, how he presumed to do this in the presence of his sovereign, he answered in the very words almost of Rhoderic Dhu,

"I right my wrongs where they are given,
Though it were in the court of Heaven!"

The throne projects into the hall from the back, in front of the large central arch; it is raised ten feet above the floor, and is about ten wide, and covered by a marble canopy supported upon four marble pillars, all beautifully inlaid with mosaic work exquisitely finished, but now much dilapidated. The room, or recess, in which the throne stands, is open to the front, and about fifteen feet wide, and six deep. There is a door at the back, by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments, and one on his left, from which his prime minister or chief officer of state approached the throne by a flight of steps leading into the hall. In front of the throne, and raised some three feet above the floor, is a fine large slab of white marble, on which one of the secretaries stood during the hours of audience, to hand up to the throne any petitions that were presented, and to receive and convey commands. As the people approached over the intervening one hundred and twenty yards, between the gateway and the hall of audience, they were made to bow down lower and lower to the

figure of the Emperor, as he sat upon his throne without deigning to show, by any motion of limb or muscle, that he was really made of 'flesh and blood, and not cut out of the marble he sat upon!

The marble walls on three sides of this recess are inlaid with precious stones, representing some of the most beautiful birds and flowers of India, according to the boundaries of the country when Shah Jehan built this palace, which included Cabool and Cashmere, afterwards served from it on the invasion of Nadir Shah. On the upper part of the back wall is represented, in the same precious stones, and in a graceful attitude, an European in a kind of Spanish costume, playing upon his guitar, and in the character of Orpheus, charming the birds and beasts which he first taught the people of India so well to represent in this manner. This I have no doubt was intended by Austin de Bardeux for himself. The man from Sheraz, Amanut Khan, who designed all the noble Tagra characters in which the passages from the Koran are inscribed upon different parts of the Taj at Agra, was permitted to place his own name in the same bold characters on the right hand side as we enter the tomb of the Emperor and his queen. It is inscribed after the date thus:—A. H. 1048, "The humble Faqueer Amanut Khan of Sheraz." Austin was a still greater favourite than Amanut Khan; and the Emperor Shah Jehan, no doubt, readily acceded to his wishes to have himself represented in what appeared to him and his courtiers so beautiful a picture.

The Dewani Khas, or hall of private audience, is a much more splendid building than the other, from its richer materials, being all built of white marble beautifully ornamented. The roof is supported upon colonnades of marble pillars. The throne stands in the centre of this hall, and is ascended by steps, and covered by a canopy, with four artificial peacocks on the four corners. Here, thought I, as I entered this apartment, sat Ourungzebe when he ordered the assassination of his brothers Dara and Moorad, and the

imprisonment and destruction by slow poison of his son Mahomed, who had so often fought bravely by his side in battle. Here also, but a few months before, sat the great Shah Jehan, to receive the insolent commands of this same grandson, Mahomed, when flushed with victory; and to offer him the throne, merely to disappoint the hopes of the youth's father, Ourungzebe. Here stood in chains the graceful Sooleeman, to receive his sentence of death by slow poison with his poor young brother, Sipeher Shekoh, who had shared all his father's toils and dangers, and witnessed his brutal murder! Here sat Mahomed Shah, bandying compliments with his ferocious conqueror, Nadir Shah, who had destroyed his armies, plundered his treasury, stripped his throne, and ordered the murder of a hundred thousand of the helpless inhabitants of his capital, men, women, and children, in a general massacre. The bodies of these people lay in the streets tainting the air, while the two sovereigns sat here sipping their coffee, and swearing to the most deliberate lies in the name of their God, prophet, and Koran;—all are now dust; that of the oppressor undistinguishable from that of the oppressed.* Within this apartment and over the side arches at one end, is inscribed in black letters the celebrated couplet, "If

* It is related that the coffee was delivered to the two sovereigns in this room upon a gold salver, by the most polished gentleman of the court. His motions, as he entered the gorgeous apartment, amidst the splendid trains of the two Emperors, were watched with great anxiety; if he presented the coffee first to his own master, the furious conqueror, before whom the sovereign of India and all his courtiers trembled, might order him to instant execution; if he presented it to Nadir first, he would insult his own sovereign out of fear of the stranger. To the astonishment of all, he walked up with a steady step direct to his own master. "I cannot," said he, "aspire to the honour of presenting the cup to the king of kings, your majesty's honoured guest, nor would your majesty wish that any hand but your own should do so." The Emperor took the cup from the golden salver, and presented it to Nadir Shah, who said with a smile as he took it, "Had all your officers known and done their duty like this man, you had never my good cousin, seen me and my Knzul Bashua at Delhi; take care of him for your own sake, and get round you as many like him as you can."

there be a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this—it is this—it is this.' Anything more unlike paradise than this place now is, can hardly be conceived. Here are crowded together twelve hundred *kings* and *queens*, (for all the descendants of the Emperors assume the title of Sultateens, the plural of Sultans,) literally eating each other up.

Government, from motives of benevolence, has here attempted to apportion out the pension they assign to the Emperor, to the different members of his great family circle, who are to be subsisted upon it, instead of leaving it to his own discretion. This has perhaps tended to prevent the family from throwing off its useless members, to mix with the common herd; and to make the population press against the means of subsistence within these walls. Kings and queens of the house of Tynmour are to be found lying about in scores, like broods of vermin, without food to eat or clothes to cover their nakedness. It has been proposed by some, to establish colleges for them in the palace, to fit them by education for high offices under our government. Were this done, this pensioned family, which never can possibly feel well affected towards our government or any government but their own, would alone send out men enough to fill all the civil offices open to the natives of the country, to the exclusion of the members of the humbler but better affected families of Mahomedans and Hindoos. If they obtained the offices they would be educated for, the evil to government and to society would be very great; and if they did not get them, the evil would be great to themselves, since they would be encouraged to entertain hopes that could not be realized. Better let them shift for themselves and quietly sink among the crowd. They would only become rallying points for dissatisfaction and multiplied sources of disaffection; everywhere doing mischief, and nowhere doing good. Let loose upon society, they everywhere disgust people by their insolence and knavery, against which we are every day required to protect the

people by our interference ; the prestige of their name will by degrees diminish, and they will sink by-and-by into utter insignificance. During his stay at Jubbulpore, Kañbuksh, the nephew of the Emperor, whom I have already mentioned as the most sensible member of the family, did an infinite deal of good by cheating almost all the tradesmen of the town. Till he came down among them with all his ragamuffins from Delhi, men thought the Padshahs and their progeny must be something superhuman, something not to be spoken of, much less approached without reverence ; during the latter part of his stay, my court was crowded with complaints ; and no one has ever since heard a scion of the house of Tymeour spoken of but as a thing to be avoided—a person more prone than others to take in his neighbours. One of these *kings*, who has not more than ten shillings a month to subsist, himself and family upon will, in writing to the representative of the British government, address him as “Fidwee khas,” our particular slave ; and be addressed in reply with, “Your majesty’s commands have been received by your slave !”

I visited the college, which is in the mausoleum of Ghazeeood-Deen, a fine building, with its usual accompaniment of a mosque and a college. The slab that covers the grave, and the marble screens that surround the ground that contain it, are amongst the most richly cut things that I have seen. The learned and pious Mahomedans in the institution told me in my morning visit, that there should always be a small hollow in the top of marble slabs like that on Jehanara’s whenever any of them were placed over graves, in order to admit water, earth, and grass ; but that, strictly speaking, no slab should be allowed to cover the grave, as it could not fail to be in the way of the dead when summoned to get up by the trumpet of Israel on the day of the resurrection ! “Earthly pride,” said they, “has violated this rule and now everybody that can afford it gets a marble slab put over

his grave. But it is not only in this that men have been falling off from the letter and spirit of the law ; for we now hear drums beating and trumpets sounding even among the tombs of the saints a thing that our forefathers would not have considered possible ! In former days it was only a prophet like Moses, Jesus, or Mahomed, that was suffered to have a stone placed over his head." I asked them how it was that the people crowded to the tombs of their saints, as I saw them at that of Kootab Shah, in old Delhi, on the Busunt, a Hindoo festival. "It only shows," said they, "that the end of the world is approaching. Are we not divided into seventy-two sects among ourselves ; all falling off into Hindooism, and every day committing greater and greater follies ? these are the manifest signs long ago pointed out by wise and holy men, as indicating the approach of the *last day* !" A map might make a curious book out, of the indications of the end of the world, according to the notions of different people or different individuals. The Hindoos have had many different worlds or ages ; and the change from the good to the bad, or the golden to the iron age, is considered to have been indicated by a thousand curious incidents. I one day asked an old Hindoo priest, a very worthy man, what made the five heroes of the Mahabharat, the demigod brothers of Indian story, leave the plains and bury themselves no one knew where, in the eternal snows of the Himmalah mountains ? "Why, Sir," said he, "there is no question about that. Judishter, the eldest, who reigned quietly at Delhi after the long war, one day sat down to dinner with his four brothers and their single wife Dorputee, for you know, sir, they had only one among them all. The king said grace, and the covers were removed ; when to their utter consternation a *full grown fly* was seen seated upon the dish of rice that stood before his majesty ! Judishter rose in consternation. 'When flies begin to blow upon men's dinners,' said his majesty, 'you may be sure, my brothers, that the end of the world is near—the golden age is gone—the

iron one has commenced, and we must all be off; the plains of India are no longer a fit abode for gentlemen.' Without taking one morsel of food," added the priest, "they set out, and were never after seen or heard of. They were, however, traced by manifest supernatural signs up through the valley of the Ganges to the snow tops of the Himalah, in which they no doubt left their mortal coils." They seem to feel a singular attachment for the birthplace of their great progenitrix; for no place in the world is, I suppose, more infested by them than Delhi at present; and there a dish of rice without a fly would, in the iron, be as rare a thing as a dish with one in the golden age.

Mahomedans in India sigh for the restoration of the old Mahomedan regime, not from any particular attachment to the descendants of Tymour, but with precisely the same feelings that Whigs and Tories sigh for the return to power of their respective parties in England; it would give them all the offices in a country where office is everything. Among them, as among ourselves, every man is disposed to rate his own abilities highly, and to have a good deal of confidence in his own good luck; and all think, that if the field were once opened to them by such a change, they should very soon be able to find good positions for themselves and their children in it. Perhaps there are few communities in the world, among whom education is more generally diffused than among Mahomedans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month, commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a prime minister. They learn, through the medium of the Arabic and Persian languages, what young men in our colleges learn through those of the Greek and Latin—that is, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Mahomedan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these three branches of knowledge, as the young man raw from Oxford—he will talk as fluently about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates,

Galen and Avicenna, *alias* Socrate, Aristotalees, Aflaton, Bocrate, Jaleenoos, and Booclee Sehna ; and what is much to his advantage in India, the languages in which he has learnt what he knows are those which he most requires through life. He therefore thinks himself well fitted to fill the high offices which are now filled exclusively by Europeans, and naturally enough wishes the re-establishment of that power which would open them to him. On the faculties and operations of the human mind on man's passions and affections, and his duties in all relations of life, the works of Imam Mahomed Ghuzallee and Niseerooddeen Toosee, hardly yield to those of Plato and Aristotle, or to those of any other authors who have ever written on the same subjects in any country. These works, the Ahealooloom, epitomised into the Keemecai Soadut, and the Akhlaki Naseree, with the didactic poems of Sadee, are the great "Pierian spring" of moral instruction, from which the Mahomedan delights to "drink deep" from infancy to old age, and a better spring it would be difficult to find in the works of any other three men.

It is not only the desire for office that makes the educated Mahomedans cherish the recollection of the old regime in Hindoostan ; they say, "We pray every night for the Emperor and his family, because our forefathers ate of the salt of his forefathers" —that is, our ancestors were in the service of his ancestors : and, consequently, were of the *aristocracy* of the country. Whether they really were so matters not ; they persuade themselves or their children that they were. This is a very common and a very innocent sort of vanity. We often find Englishmen in India, and I suppose in all the rest of our foreign settlements, sporting high Tory opinions and feelings, merely with a view to have it supposed, that their families are, or at some time were, among the *aristocracy* of the land. To express a wish for Conservative predominance, is the same thing with them, as to express a wish for the promotion in the army, navy, or church, of some of their near relations ; and thus to indicate,

that they are among the privileged class whose wishes the Tories would be obliged to consult were they in power.

Man is indeed "fearfully and wonderfully made;" to be fitted himself for action in the world, or for directing ably the actions of others, it is indispensably necessary, that he should mix freely from his youth up with his fellow men. I have elsewhere mentioned, that the state of imbecility to which a man of naturally average powers of intellect may be reduced when brought up with his mother in the seraglio, is inconceivable to those who have not had opportunities of observing it. The poor old Emperor of Delhi, to whom so many millions look up, is an instance. A more venerable looking man it is difficult to conceive; and had he been educated and brought up with his fellow men, he would no doubt have had a mind worthy of his person. As it is, he has never been anything but a baby. Rajah Jewun Ram, an excellent portrait-painter, and a very honest and agreeable person, was lately employed to take the Emperor's portrait. After the first few sittings, the picture was taken into the seraglio to the ladies. The next time he came, the Emperor requested him to remove the great blotch from under the nose. "May it please your majesty, it is impossible to draw any person without a shadow; and I hope many millions will long continue to repose under that of your majesty." "True, Rajah," said his majesty, "men must have shadows; but there is surely no necessity for placing them immediately under their noses! The ladies will not allow mine to be put there; they say it looks as if I had been taking snuff all my life; and it certainly has a most filthy appearance; besides, it is all awry, as I told you when you began upon it!" The Rajah was obliged to remove from under the imperial, and certainly very noble nose, the shadow which he had thought worth all the rest of the picture. Queen Elizabeth is said, by an edict, to have commanded all artists who should paint her likeness, "to place her in a garden with a full light upon her, and the painter to

to put *any shadow* in her face at his peril!" The next time the Rajah came, the Emperor took the opportunity of consulting him upon a subject that had given him a good deal of anxiety for many months,—the dismissal of one of his personal servants who had become negligent and disrespectful. He first took care that no one should be within hearing, and then whispered in the artist's ear, that he wished to dismiss this man. The Rajah said carelessly, as he looked from the imperial head to the canvass. "Why does your majesty not discharge the man if he displeases you?" "Why do I not discharge him! I wish to do so, of course, and have wished to do so for many months; but *kooch tudbeer chaheea* some plan of operations must be devised." "If your majesty dislikes the man, you have only to order him outside the gates of the palace, and you are relieved from his presence at once." "True, man, I am relieved from his presence, but his enchantments may still reach me; it is them that I most dread—he keeps me in a continual state of alarm; and I would give anything to get him away in good humour!"

When the Rajah returned to Meerut, he received a visit from one of the Emperor's sons or nephews, who wanted to see the place. His tents were pitched upon the plain not far from the theatre; he arrived in the evening, and there happened to be a play that night. Several times during the night he got a message from the prince to say, that the grounds near his tents were haunted by all manner of devils. The Rajah sent to assure him, that this could not possibly be the case. At last a man came about midnight, to say that the prince could stand it no longer, and had given orders to prepare for his immediate return to Delhi; for the devils; were increasing so rapidly, that they must all be inevitably devoured before daybreak if they remained. The Rajah now went to the prince's camp, where he found him and his followers in a state of utter consternation, looking towards the theatre. The last carriages were leaving the theatre, and going

across the plain ; and these silly people had taken them all for devils !

The present pensioned imperial family of Delhi are commonly considered to be of the house of Tymour Lung, (the lame,) because Babur, the real founder of the dynasty, was descended from him in the seventh stage. Tymour merely made a predatory inroad into India, to kill a few million of *unbelievers*, plunder the country of all the moveable valuables he and his soldiers could collect ; and take back into slavery all the best artificers of all kinds that they could lay their hands upon. He left no one to represent him in India ; he claimed no sovereignty, and founded no dynasty there. There is no doubt much in the prestige of a name ; and though six generations had passed away, the people of northern India still trembled at that of the lame monster. Babur wished to impress upon the minds of the people the notion, that he had at his beck, the same army of demons that Tymour commanded ; and he boasted his descent from him for the same motive that Alexander boasted his, from the horned and cloven-footed god of the Egyptain desert, as something to sanctify all enterprizes, justify the use of all means, and carry before him the belief in his invincibility !

Babur was an admirable chief—a fit founder of a great dynasty—a very proper object for the imaginations of future generations to dwell upon, though not quite so good as his grandson, the great Akbar. Tymour was a ferocious monster, who knew how to organize and command the set of demons who composed his army, and how best to direct them for the destruction of the civilized portion of mankind and their works ; but who knew nothing else. In his invasion of India, he caused the people of the towns and villages through which he passed, to be all massacred without regard to religion, age, or sex. If the soldiers in the town resisted, the people were all murdered, because they did so ; if they did not, the people were considered to

have forfeited their lives to their conqueror for being conquered ; and told to purchase them by the surrender of all their property, the value of which was estimated by commissaries appointed for the purpose. The price was always more than they could pay ; and after torturing a certain number to death in the attempt to screw the sum out of them, the troops were let in to murder the rest ; so that no city, town, or village escaped ; and the very grain collected for the army over and above what they could consume at any stage, was burned, lest it might relieve some hungry infidel of the country who had escaped from the general carnage.

All the soldiers, high and low, were murdered when taken prisoners, as a matter of course ; but the officers and soldiers of Tymour's army, after taking all the valuable moveables, thought they might be able to find a market for the artificers by whom they were made, and their families ; and they collected together an immense number of men, women, and children. All who asked for mercy pretended to be able to make something that these Tartars had taken a liking to. On coming before Delhi, Tymour's army encamped on the opposite or left bank of the river Jumna ; and here he learnt, that his soldiers had collected together above one hundred thousand of these artificers, besides their women and children. There were no soldiers among them ; but Tymour thought it might be troublesome either to keep them or to turn them away without their women and children ; and still more so to make his soldiers send away these women and children immediately. He asked whether the prisoners were not for the most part *unbelievers* in his prophet Mahomed ; and being told that the majority were Hindoos, he gave orders, that every man should be put to death ; and that any officer or soldier who refused or delayed to kill or have killed all such men, should suffer death. " As soon as this order was made known," says Tymour's historian, and great eulogist, " the officers and soldiers began to put it in execution ; and in less than one hour one hundred thousand prisoners,

according to the smallest computation, were put to death, and their bodies thrown into the river Jumna. Among the rest, Moolana Nuseer-ol-Deen Amor, one of the most venerable doctors of the court, who would never consent so much as to kill a single sheep, was constrained to order fifteen slaves, whom he had in his tents, to be slain. Tymour then gave orders that one-tenth of his soldiers should keep watch over the Indian women, children, and camels taken in the pillage." The city was soon after taken and the people commanded, as usual, to purchase their lives by the surrender of their property—troops were sent in to take it—numbers were tortured to death—and then the usual pillage and massacre of the whole people followed without regard to religion, age, or sex; and about a hundred thousand more of innocent and unoffending people were murdered. The troops next massacred the inhabitants of the old city, which had become crowded with fugitives from the new; the last remnant took refuge in a mosque, where two of Tymour's most distinguished generals rushed in upon them at the head of five hundred soldiers; and as the amiable historian tells us, "sent to the abyss of hell the souls of these infidels, of whose heads they erected towers, and gave their bodies for food to birds and beasts of prey." Being at last tired of slaughter, the soldiers made slaves of the survivors, and drove them out in chains; and as they passed, the officers were ordered to select any they liked except the masons; whom Tymour required to build for him, at Samarkand, a church similar to that of Altumsh, in old Delhi.

He now set out to take Meerut, which was at that time a fortified town of much note. The people determined to defend themselves; and happened to say, that Turmachurn Khan, who invaded India at the head of a similar body of Tartars a century before, had been unable to take the place. This so incensed Tymour, that he brought all his forces to bear on Meerut, took the place, and having had all the Hindoo men found in it *skinned*

alive, he distributed their wives and children among his soldiers as slaves. He now sent out a division of his army to murder unbelievers, and collect plunder, over the cultivated plains between the Ganges, and Jumna, while he led the main body on the same *pious duty* along the hills from Hurdwar, on the Ganges, to the west. Having massacred a few thousands of the hill people, Tymour read the noon prayer, and returned thanks to God for the victories he had gained, and the numbers he had murdered through his goodness; and told his admiring army, "that a religious war like this produced two great advantages: it secured eternal happiness in heaven, and a good store of valuable spoils on earth—that his design in all the fatigues and labours which he had undertaken, was solely to render himself *pleasing to God*, treasure up *good works* for his eternal happiness, and get riches to bestow upon his soldiers and the poor!" The historian makes a grave remark upon this invasion. "The Koran declares, that the highest glory man can attain in this world is, unquestionably, that of waging a successful war in person against the enemies of his religion, (no matter whether those against whom it is waged happen ever to have heard of this religion or not.) Mahomed inculcated the same doctrine in his discourses with his friends; and in consequence, the great Tymour always strove to exterminate all the unbelievers, with a view to acquire that glory, and to spread the renown of his conquests! My name," said he, "has spread terror through the universe; and the least motion I make, is capable of shaking the whole earth!"

Tymour returned to his capital of Samarcand, in Transoxiana, in May, 1399. His army, besides other things which they brought from India, had an immense number of men, women, and children, whom they had reduced to slavery, and driven along like flocks of sheep to forage for their subsistence in the countries through which they passed, or perish. After the murder on the banks of the Jumna of part of the multitude they had collected

before taking the capital, amounting to one hundred thousand men, Tymour was obliged to assign one-tenth of the soldiers of his army to guard what were left, the women and children. "After the murder in the capital of Delhi," says the historian, an eye witness, "there were some soldiers who had a hundred and fifty slaves, men, women, and children, whom they drove out of the city before them; and some soldiers' boys had twenty slaves to their own share." On reaching Samarcand, they employed these slaves as best they could; and Tymour employed his, the masons, in raising his great church from the quarries of the neighbouring hills.

In October following, Tymour led this army of demons over the rich and polished countries of Syria, Natolia, and Georgia, levelling all the cities, towns, and villages, and massacring the inhabitants without any regard to age or sex, with the same *amiable view* of correcting the notions of people regarding his creed, propitiating the Deity, and rewarding his soldiers. He sent to the Christian inhabitants of Smyrna, then one of the first commercial cities in the world, a message by one of his generals, to request that they would at once embrace Mahomedanism, in the *beauties* of which the general and his soldiers had orders generously and diligently to instruct them! They refused, and Tymour repaired immediately to the spot, that he might "share in the merit of sending their souls to the abyss of hell." Bajazet, the Turkish emperor of Natolia, had recently terminated an unavailing siege of seven years. Tymour took the city in fourteen days, December, 1402; had every man, woman, and child that he found in it murdered; and caused some of the heads of the Christians to be thrown by his balistas or catapultas into the ships that had come from different European nations to their succour. All other Christian communities, found within the wide range of this dreadful tempest, were swept off in the same manner; nor did Mahomedan communities fare better. After the taking of Bagdad,

every Tartar soldier was ordered to cut off and bring away the head of one or more prisoners, because some of the Tartar soldiers had been killed in the attack; "and they spared," says the historian, "neither old men of fourscore, nor young children of eight years of age; no quarter was given either to rich or poor, and the number of the dead was so great, that they could not be counted; towers were made of these heads, to serve as an example to posterity." Ninety thousand were thus murdered in cold blood; and one hundred and twenty pyramids were made of the heads for trophies! Damascus, Nice, Aleppo, Sabasto, and all the other rich and populous cities of Palestine, Syria, Asia-Minor, and Georgia, then the most civilized region of the world, shared in the same fate; all were reduced to ruins, and their people, without regard to religion, age, or sex, barbarously and brutally murdered.

In the beginning of 1405, this man recollected, that among the many millions of unbelieving Christians and Hindoos, "whose souls he had sent to the abyss of hell," there were many Mahomedans, who had no doubt whatever in the divine origin or co-eternal existence of the Koran; and as their death might, perhaps, not have been altogether pleasing to his god and his prophet, he determined to appease them both by undertaking the murder of some two hundred millions of industrious and unoffending Chinese; among whom there was little chance of finding one man who had ever even *heard of the Koran*, much less believed in its *divinity* and *co-eternity*, or of its interpreter, Mahomed. At the head of between two and three hundred thousand well-mounted Tartars, and their followers, he departed from his capital of Samarcand, on the 8th of January, 1405, and crossed the Jaxartes on the ice—in the words of his *judicious* historian, "he thus *generously* undertook the conquest of China, which was inhabited only by unbelievers, that by so good a work he might atone for what had been done amiss in other wars, in which the blood of so many of the

faithful had been shed." "As all my vast conquests," said Tymour himself, "have caused the destruction of a good many of the faithful, I am resolved to perform some good action, to atone for the crimes of my past life; and to make war upon the infidels, and exterminate the idolators of China, which cannot be done without very great strength and power. It is therefore fitting, my dear companions in arms, that those very soldiers who were the instruments whereby those my faults were committed, should be the means by which I work out my repentance; and that they should march into China, to acquire for themselves and their Emperor the merit of that holy war, in demolishing the temples of these unbelievers, and erecting good Mahomedan mosques in their places. By this means we shall obtain pardon for all our sins, for the holy Koran assures us that good works efface the sins of this world. At the close of the Emperor's speech the princes of the blood and other officers of rank, besought God to bless his generous undertaking, unanimously applauding his sentiments, and loading him with praises. Let the Emperor but display his standard, and we will follow him to the end of the world!" Tymour died soon after crossing the Jaxartes, on the first of April, 1405; and China was saved from this dreadful scourge. But as the *philosophical* historian, Shurfod Deen, *profoundly* observes, "The Koran remarks, that if any one in his pilgrimage to Mecca should be surprised by death, the merit of the good work is still written in heaven in his name, as surely as if he had had the good fortune to accomplish it. It is the same with regard to the Ghazee, (holy war,) where an eternal merit is acquired by troubles, fatigues, and dangers; and he who dies during the enterprise, at whatever stage, is deemed to have completed his design." Thus Tymour the lame had the merit, beyond all question of doubt, of sending to the abyss of hell, "two hundred millions of men, women, and children, for not believing in a certain book, of which they had never heard or read;

for the Tartars had not become Mahomedans when they conquered China in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Indeed, the *amiable* and *profound* historian, is of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, "that God himself must have arranged all this in favour of so great and good a prince ; and knowing that his end was nigh, inspired him with the idea of *undertaking* this enterprise, that he might have the merit of having *completed* it ; otherwise, how should he have thought of leading out his army in the dead of winter to cross countries covered with ice and snow ?"

The heir to the throne, the Prince Peer Mahomed, was absent when Tymour died ; but his wives who had accompanied him were all anxious to share in the merit of the holy undertaking ; and in a council of the chiefs held after his death, the opinions of these amiable princesses prevailed, that the two hundred millions of Chinese ought still to be sent to "the abyss of hell," since it had been the earnest desire of their deceased husband, and must undoubtedly have been the will of God, to send them thither without delay ! Fortunately, quarrels soon arose among his sons and grandsons about the succession, and the army recrossed the Jaxartes, still over the ice, in the beginning of April ; and China was saved from this scourge. Such was Tymour the lame, the man whose greatness and goodness are to live in the hearts of the people of India, nine-tenths of whom are Hindoos ; and to fill them to overflowing with love and gratitude towards his descendants !

• In this brief sketch will perhaps be found the true history of the origin of the gypsies, the tide of whose immigration begun to flow over all parts of Europe immediately after the return of Tymour from India. The hundreds of thousands of slaves which his army brought from India in men, women, and children, were cast away when they got as many as they liked from among the more beautiful and polished inhabitants of the cities of Palestine, Syria, Asia-Minor, and Georgia, which were all, one after the

indeed those of all the vagrant tribes of India ; and they have continued to preserve them to the present day. I have compared their vocabularies with those of India, and find so many of the words the same, that I think a native of India would, even in the present day, be able, without much difficulty, to make himself understood by a gang of gypsies in any part of Europe. A good Christian may not be able exactly to understand the nature of the merit which Tamerlane expected to acquire from sending so many unoffending Chinese to the abyss of hell. According to the Mahomedan creed, God has vowed "to fill hell chock full of men and genii." Hence his reasons for *hardening* their hearts against that faith in the Koran which might send them to heaven ; and which would, they think, necessarily follow an *impartial* examination of the evidence of its divinity and eternity. Tamerlane thought, no doubt, that it would be very meritorious on his part to assist God in this his labour of filling the great abyss, by throwing into it all the existing population of China ; while he spread over their land, in pastoral tribes, the goodly seed of Mahomedanism, which would give him a rich supply of recruits for paradise.

The following dialogue took place one day between me and the Mooftie, or head Mahomedan law officer of one of our regulation courts.

"Does it not seem to you strange, Mooftie Sahib, that your prophet, who, according to your notions, must have been so well acquainted with the universe, and the laws that govern it, should not have revealed to his followers some great truth hitherto unknown regarding these laws, which might have commanded their belief, and 'that of all future generations, in his divine mission?'

"Not at all," said the Mooftie ; "they would probably not have understood him ; and if they had, those who did not believe in what he did actually reveal to them, would not have believed in him had he revealed *all* the laws that govern the universe."

"And why should they not have believed in him?"

"Because what he revealed was sufficient to convince all men whose hearts had not been hardened to unbelief. God said, 'As for the unbelievers, it is the same with them, whether you admonish them or do not admonish them; they will not believe. God hath sealed up their hearts, their ears, and their eyes; and a grievous punishment awaits them.'"

"And why were the hearts of any men thus hardened to unbelief, when by unbelief they were to incur such dreadful penalties?"

"Because they were otherwise wicked men."

"But you think, of course, that there was really much of good in the revelations of your prophet?"

"Of course we do."

"And that those who believed in it were likely to become better men for their faith?"

"Assuredly."

"Then why harden the hearts of even bad men against a faith that might make them good?"

"Has not God said—'If we had pleased, we had certainly given unto every soul its direction; but the word which hath proceeded from me, must necessarily be fulfilled, when I said, *Verily I will fill hell with genii and men altogether.*' † And again, 'Had it pleased the Lord he would have made all men of one religion; but they shall not cease to differ among them, unless those on whom the Lord shall have mercy; and unto this hath he created them; for the word of thy Lord shall be fulfilled, when he said, *Verily, I will fill hell altogether with genii and men.*'" ‡

"You all believe that the devil, like all the angels, was made of fire?"

"Yes."

* See Koran chap. ii.

† See Koran, chap. xxxii.

‡ Ibid. chap. xi.

“And that he was doomed to hell because he would not fall down and worship Adam, who was made of clay?”

“Yes, God commanded him to bow down to Adam; and when he did not do as he was bid, God said, ‘Why, Eblees, what hindered thee from bowing down to Adam as the other angels did?’ He replied, ‘It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast formed of dried clay, or black mud.’ God said, ‘Get thee, therefore, hence, for thou shalt be pelted with stones; and a curse shall be upon thee till the day of judgment!’ The devil said, ‘O Lord, give me respite until the day of resurrection.’ God said, ‘Verily, thou shalt be respited until the appointed time.’” *

“And does it not appear to you, Mooftee Sahib, that in respiting the devil, Eblees, till the day of resurrection, some injustice was done to the children of Adam?”

“How?”

“Because he replies, O Lord, because thou hast seduced me I will surely tempt men to disobedience in the earth.”

“No, sir, because he could only tempt those who were *predestined* to go astray, for he adds, ‘I will seduce them all, except such of them as shall be *thy chosen servants*.’ God said, ‘This is the right way with me. Verily, as to my servants, thou shalt have no power over them; but over those only who shall be seduced, and who shall follow thee; and hell is surely denounced unto them all.’” †

* See Koran chap. xv.

† “This is a revelation of the most mighty, the merciful God; that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence. Our sentence hath justly been pronounced against the greater part of them, wherefore they shall not believe. It shall be equal unto them whether thou preach unto them, or do not preach unto them; they shall not believe.”—Koran, chap. xxxvi.

"Then you think, Mooftee Sahib, that the devil could seduce only such as were predestined to go astray, and who would have gone astray whether he the devil had been respited or not?"

"Certainly I do."

"Does it not then appear to you that it is as unjust to predestine men to do that for which they are to be sent to hell, as it would be to leave them all unguided to the temptations of the devil?"

"These are difficult questions," replied the Mooftee, "which we cannot venture to ask even ourselves. All that we can do is to endeavour to understand what is written in the holy book, and act according to it. God made us all, and he has the right to do what he pleases with what he has made; the potter makes two vessels, he dashes the one on the ground, but the other he sells to stand in the palaces of princes?"

"But a pot has no soul, Mooftee Sahib, to be roasted to all eternity in hell!"

"True, sir; these are questions beyond the reach of human understanding."

"How often do you read over the Koran?"

"I read the whole over about three times a month," replied the Mooftee.

I mentioned this conversation one day to the Nawab Alee-oodeen, a most estimable old gentleman of seventy years of age, who resides at Moradabad, and asked him whether he did not think it a singular omission on the part of Mahomed, after his journey to heaven, not to tell mankind some of the truths that have since been discovered regarding the nature of the bodies that fill these heavens, and the laws that govern their motions. Man-

I have never met another man so thoroughly master of the Koran as the Mooftee, and yet he had the reputation of being a very corrupt man in his office.

kind could not, either from the Koran, or from the traditions, perceive that he was at all aware of the errors of the system of astronomy that prevailed in his day, and among his people.

“Not at all,” replied the Nawab; the prophets had no doubt abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the heavenly bodies, and the laws which govern them, particularly those who, like Mahomed, had been up through the seven heavens; but their thoughts were so entirely taken up with the Deity, that they probably never noticed the objects by which he was surrounded; and if they had noticed them, they would not perhaps have thought it necessary to say anything about them. Their object was to direct men’s thoughts towards God, and his commandments; and to instruct them in their duties towards him and towards each other. Suppose,” continued the Nawab, “you were to be invited to see and converse with even your earthly sovereign, would not your thoughts be too much taken up with him to admit of your giving, on your return, an account of the things you saw about him. I have been several times to see you, and I declare that I have been so much taken up with the conversations which have passed, that I have never noticed the many articles I now see around me, nor could I have told any one on my return home what I had seen in your room,—the wall shades, the pictures, the sofas, the tables, the book-cases,” continued he, “casting his eyes round the room, all escaped my notice, and might have escaped it had my eyes been younger and stronger than they are. What then must have been the state of mind of those great prophets, who were admitted to see and converse with the great Creator of the universe, and were sent by him to instruct mankind?”

I told my old friend that I thought his answer the best that could be given; but still, that we could not help thinking, that if Mahomed had really been acquainted with the nature of the heavenly bodies, and the laws which govern them, he would have taken advantage of his knowledge to secure more firmly their

faith in his mission, and have explained to them the real state of the case, instead of talking about the stars as merely made to be thrown at devils, to give light to men upon this little globe of ours, and to guide them in their wanderings upon it by sea and land.

"Bnt what," said the Nawab, "are the great truths that you would have had our holy prophet to teach mankind?"

"Why, Nawab Sahib, I would have had him tell us, amongst other things, of that law which makes this our globe, and the other planets revolve round the sun, and their moons around them. I would have had him teach us something of the nature of the things we call comets, or stars, with large tails, and of that of the fixed stars, which we suppose to be suns, like our sun, with planets revolving round them like ours, since it is clear that they do not borrow their light from our sun, nor from anything that we can discover in the heavens. I would also have had him tell us the nature of that white belt which crosses the sky, which you call the ovarious belt, Khutabyuz, and we the milky-way, and which we consider to be a collection of self-lighted stars, while many orthodox but unlettered Mussulmans think it the marks made in the sky by "*Boruk*," the rough-shed donkey, on which your prophet rode from Jerusalem to heaven. And you think, Nawab Sahib, that there was quite evidence enough to satisfy any person whose heart had not been hardened to unbelief? and that no description of the heavenly bodies, or of the laws which govern their motion, could have had any influence on the minds of such people?"

"Assuredly I do, sir! Has not God said, 'If we should open a gate in the heavens above them, and they should ascend thereto all the day long, they would surely say, our eyes are only dazzled, or rather we are a people deluded by enchantments.'*" Do you think, sir, that anything which his majesty, Moses, could

have said about the planets, and the comets, and the milky-way, would have tended so much to persuade the children of Israel of his divine mission, as did the single stroke of his rod, which brought a river of delicious water gushing from a dry rock when they were all dying from thirst? When our holy prophet," continued the Nawab, (placing the points of the four fingers of his right-hand on the table,) "placed his blessed hand thus on the ground, and caused four streams to gush out from the dry plain, and supply with fresh water the whole army which was perishing from thirst; and when out of only *five small dates* he afterwards feasted all this immense army till they could eat no more, he surely did more to convince his followers of his divine mission than he could have done by any discourse about the planets, and the milky-way," (Khut, i, Abyuz)

"No doubt, Nawab Sahib, these were very powerful arguments for those who saw them, or believed them to have been seen; and those who doubt the divinity of your prophet's mission are those who doubt their having ever been seen."

"The whole army saw and attested them, sir, and that is evidence enough for us; and those who saw them, and were not satisfied, must have had their hearts hardened to unbelief."

"And you think, Nawab Sahib, that a man is not master of his own belief or disbelief in religious matters; though he is rewarded by an eternity of bliss in paradise for the one, and punished by an eternity of scorching in hell for the other?"

"I do, sir—faith is a matter of feeling; and over our feelings we have no control. All that we can do is to prevent their influencing our actions, when these actions would be mischievous. I have a desire to stretch out this arm, and crush that fly on the table. I can control the act, and do so; but the desire is not under my control."

"True, Nawab Sahib; and in this life we punish men not for their feelings, which are beyond their control; but for their acts,

over which they have control ; and we are apt to think that the Deity will do the same."

"There are, sir," continued the Nawab, "three kinds of certainty—the moral certainty, the mathematical certainty, and the religious certainty, which we hold to be the greatest of all—the one in which the mind feels entire repose. This repose I feel in everything that is written in the Koran, in the Bible, and, with the few known exceptions, in the New Testament. We do not believe that Christ was the son of God, though we believe him to have been a great prophet sent down to enlighten mankind ; nor do we believe that he was crucified. We believe that the wicked Jews got hold of a thief, and crucified him in the belief that he was the Christ—but the real Christ was, we think, taken up into heaven, and not suffered to be crucified."

"But, Nawab Sahib, the Seikhs have their book in which they have the same faith."

"True, sir, but the Seikhs are unlettered, ignorant brutes ; and you do not, I hope, call their *Gurunth* a book—a thing written only the other day, and full of nonsense ! No book has appeared since the Koran came down from heaven ; nor will any other come till the day of judgment. And how," said the Nawab, "have people in modern days made all the discoveries you speak of in astronomy ?"

"Chiefly, Nawab Sahib, by means of the telescope which is an instrument of modern invention."

"And do you suppose, sir, that I would put the evidence of one of your Doorbeens (telescopes) in opposition to that of the holy prophet ? No, sir, depend upon it that there is much fallacy in a telescope—it is not to be relied upon. I have conversed with many excellent European gentlemen ; and their great fault appears to me to lie in the implicit faith they put in these telescopes—they hold their evidence above that of the prophets, Moses, Abraham, and Elijah ! It is dreadful to think how much mischief these telescopes

may do ! No, sir, let us hold fast by the prophets ; what they tell us is the truth, and the only truth that we can entirely rely upon in this life. ' I would not hold the evidence of all the telescopes in the world, as anything against one word uttered by the humblest of the prophets named in the Old or New Testament, or the holy Koran. The prophets, sir, keep to the prophets, and throw aside your telescopes—there is no truth in them : some of them turn people upside down, and make them walk upon their heads ; and yet you put their evidence against that of the prophets."

Nothing that I could say would, after this, convince the Nawab that there was any virtue in telescopes ; his religious feeling had been greatly excited against them ; and had Galileo, Tycho-Brabe, Kepler, Newton, Laplace, and the Herschels, all been present to defend them, they would not have altered his opinion of their demerits. The old man has, I believe, a shrewd suspicion that they are inventions of the devil to lead men from the right way ; and were he told all that these great men have discovered through their means, he would be very much disposed to believe that they were incarnations of his satanic majesty playing over again with *Deorheens*, (telescopes,) the same game which the serpent played with the apple in the garden of Eden :

' Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid ;
 Leave them to God above : him serve, and fear '
 Of other creatures, as him ; please best.
 Wherever placed, let him dispose : joy thou
 In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
 And thy fair Eve : heaven is for thee too high
 To know what passes there : be lowly wise :
 Think only what concerns thee, and thy being :
 Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
 Live, in what state, condition, or degree :
 Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd,
 Not of earth only, but of highest heaven ! "

CHAPTER XXXI.

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INDIAN POLICE—ITS DEFECTS—AND THEIR CAUSE AND REMEDY.

On the 26th we crossed the river Jumna, over a bridge of boats, kept up by the King of Oude for the use of the public, though his majesty is now connected with Delhi only by the tomb of his ancestor; and his territories are separated from the imperial city by the two great rivers, Ganges and Jumna. We proceeded to Furrucknugur, about twelve miles, over an execrable road running over a flat but rugged surface of unproductive soil. India is, perhaps, the only civilized country in the world where a great city could be approached by such a road from the largest military station in the empire, not more than three stages distant! After breakfast, the head native police officer of the division came to pay his respects. He talked of the dreadful murders which used to be perpetrated in this neighbourhood by miscreants, who found shelter in the territories of the Begum Samroo, whither his followers dared not hunt for them; and mentioned a case of nine persons who had been murdered just within the boundary of our territories about seven years before, and thrown into a dry well. He was present at the inquest held on their bodies, and described their appearance; and I found that they were the bodies of a news writer from Lahore, who, with his eight companions, had been murdered by Thugs on his way back to Rohilcund. I had long before been made acquainted with the circumstances of this murder, and the perpetrators had all been secured, but we wanted this link in the chain of evidence. It had been described to me as

having taken place within the boundary of the Begum's territory, and I applied to her for a report on the inquest.' She declared that no bodies had been discovered about the time mentioned; and I concluded that the ignorance of the people of the neighbourhood was pretended, as usual in such cases, with a view to avoid a summons to give evidence in our courts. I referred forthwith to the magistrate of the district, and found the report that I wanted, and thereby completed the chain of evidence upon a very important case. The Thanadar seemed much surprised to find that I was so well acquainted with the circumstances of this murder; but still more, that the perpetrators were not the poor old Begum's subjects, but our own!

The police officers employed on our borders find it very convenient to trace the perpetrators of all murders and gang robberies into the territories of native chiefs, whose subjects they accuse often when they know that the crimes have been perpetrated by our own. They are, on the one hand, afraid to seize or accuse the real offenders, lest they should avenge themselves by some personal violence, or by thefts or robberies, which they often commit, with a view to get them turned out of office as inefficient; and on the other they are tempted to conceal the real offenders by a liberal share of the spoil, and a promise of not again offending within *their beat*. Their tenure of office is far too insecure, and their salaries are far too small. They are often dismissed summarily by the magistrate if they send him in no prisoners; and also if they send in to him prisoners who are not ultimately convicted, because a magistrate's merits are too often estimated by the proportion that his convictions bear to his acquittals, among the prisoners committed for trial to the sessions. Men are often ultimately acquitted for want of judicial proof, when there is abundance of that moral proof on which a police officer or magistrate has to act in the discharge of his duties; and in a country where gangs of professional and hereditary robbers

and murderers extend their depredations into very remote parts, and seldom commit them in the districts in which they reside, the most vigilant police officer must often fail to discover the perpetrators of heavy crimes that take place within his range.

When they cannot find them, the native officers either seize innocent persons, and frighten them into confession; or else they try to conceal the crime, and in this they are seconded by the sufferers in the robbery, who will always avoid if they can a prosecution in our courts, and by their neighbours, who dread being summoned to give evidence as a serious calamity. The man who has been robbed, instead of being an object of compassion among his neighbours, often incurs their resentment for subjecting them to this calamity; and they not only pay largely themselves, but make him pay largely to have his losses concealed from the magistrate. Formerly, when a district was visited by a judge of circuit, to hold his sessions only once or twice a year, and men were constantly bound over to prosecute and appear as evidence, from sessions to sessions, till they were wearied and wearied to death, this evil was much greater than it is at present, when every district is provided with its judge of sessions, who is, or ought to be, always ready to take up the cases committed for trial by the magistrate. This was one of the best measures of Lord W. Bentinck's admirable, though much abused administration of the government of India. Still, however, the inconvenience and delay of prosecution in our courts are so great, and the chance of the ultimate conviction of great offenders is so small, that strong temptations are held out to the police to conceal, or misrepresent the character, of crimes; and they must have a greater feeling of security in their tenure of office, and more adequate salaries, better chances of rising, and better supervision over them, before they will resist such temptations. These Thanadars, and all the public officers under them, are all so very inadequately paid, that corruption among them excites no feeling of

odium or indignation in the minds of those among whom they live and serve. Such feelings are rather directed against the government that places them in situations of so much labour and responsibility with salaries so inadequate; and thereby confers upon them virtually a kind of license to pay themselves by preying upon those whom they are employed ostensibly to protect. They know that with such salaries they can never have the reputation of being honest, however faithfully they may discharge their duties; and it is too hard to expect that men will long submit to the necessity of being thought corrupt, without reaping some of the advantages of corruption. Let the Thanadars have everywhere such salaries as will enable them to maintain their families in comfort, and keep up that appearance of respectability which their station in society demands; and over every three or four Thanadars' jurisdiction, let there be an officer appointed upon a higher scale of salary, to supervise and control their proceedings, and armed with powers to decide minor offences. To these higher stations the Thanadars will be able to look forward as their reward for a faithful and zealous discharge of their duties.

He who can suppose that men so inadequately paid, who have no promotion to look forward to, and feel no security in their tenure of office, and consequently no hope of a provision for old age, will be zealous and honest in the discharge of their duties, must be very imperfectly acquainted with human nature, and with the motives by which men are influenced in all quarters of the world; but we are none of us so ignorant, for we all know that the same motives actuate public servants in India, as elsewhere. We have acted successfully upon this knowledge in the scale of salaries and gradation of rank assigned to European civil functionaries, and to all native functionaries employed in the judicial and revenue branches of the public service; and why not act upon it in that of the salaries assigned to the native officers employed in the police? The magistrate of a district gets a salary of from two thousand to

two thousand five hundred rupees a month. The native officer next under him is the Thanadar, or head native police officer of a subdivision of his district, containing many towns and villages, with a population of a hundred thousand souls. This officer gets a salary of twenty-five rupees a month. He cannot possibly do his duty unless he keeps one or two horses; indeed, he is told by the magistrate that he cannot; and that he must have one or two horses, or resign his post. The people seeing how much we expect from the Thanadar, and how little we give him, submit to his demands for contributions without murmuring, and consider almost any demand trivial from a man so employed and so paid. They are confounded at our inconsistency, and say, "We see you giving high salaries, and high prospects of advancement, to men who have nothing to do but collect your rents, and to decide our disputes about pounds, shillings, and pence, which we used to decide much better ourselves, when we had no other court but that of our elders--while those who are to protect life and property, to keep peace over the land, and enable the industrious to work in security, maintain their families, and pay the government revenue, are left with hardly any pay at all." There is really nothing in our rule in India which strikes the people so much as this inconsistency, the evil effects of which are so great and so manifest; the only way to remedy the evil is, to give a greater feeling of security in the tenure of office, a higher rate of salary, the hope of a provision for old age, and, above all, the gradation of rank, by interposing the officers I speak of between the Thanadars and the magistrate. This has all been done in the establishments for the collection of the revenue, and administration of civil justice.

Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*, says, "And seeing that the end of punishment is not revenge and discharge of choier, but correction either of the offender, or of others, by his example, the severest punishments are to be inflicted for those crimes that are of most danger to the public: such as are those which proceed from malice

to the government established ; those that spring from contempt of justice ; those that provoke indignation in the multitude ; and those, which unpunished, seem authorized, as when they are committed by sons, servants, or favourites of men in authority. For indignation carrieth men, not only against the actors and authors of injustice, but against all power that is likely to protect them ; as in the case of Tarquin, when, for the insolent act of one of his sons, he was driven out of Rome, and the monarchy itself dissolved." (Para. 2, chap. xxx.) Almost every one of our Thanadars is, in his way, a little Tarquin, exciting the indignation of the people against his rulers ; and no time should be lost in converting him into something better.

By the obstacles which are still everywhere opposed to the conviction of offenders in the distance of our courts, the forms of procedure, and other causes "of the law's delay," we render the duties of our police establishment everywhere "more honoured in the breach than the observance," by the mass of the people among whom they are placed. We must, as I have before said, remove some of these obstacles to the successful prosecution of offenders in our criminal courts, which tend so much to deprive the government of all popular aid and support in the administration of justice ; and to convert all our police establishments into instruments of oppression, instead of what they should be, the efficient means of protection to the persons, property, and character of the innocent. Crimes multiply from the assurance the guilty are everywhere apt to feel of impunity to crime ; and the more crimes multiply the greater is the aversion the people everywhere feel to aid the government in the arrest and conviction of criminals ; because they see more and more the innocent punished by attendance upon distant courts at great cost and inconvenience, to give evidence upon points which appear to them unimportant, while the guilty escape owing to technical difficulties which they can never understand.

The best way to remove these obstacles is, to interpose officers between the Thanadar and the magistrate, and arm them with judicial powers to try minor cases, leaving an appeal open to the magistrate; and to extend the final jurisdiction of the magistrate to a greater range of crimes, though it should involve the necessity of reducing the measure of punishment annexed to them. Beccaria has justly observed, that "Crimes are more effectually prevented by the certainty than by the severity of punishment. The certainty of a small punishment will make a stronger impression than the fear of one more severe, if attended with the hope of escaping; for it is the nature of mankind to be terrified at the approach of the smallest inevitable evil, whilst hope, the best gift of Heaven, has the power of dispelling the apprehensions of a greater, especially if supported by examples of impunity, which weakness or avarice too frequently affords."

I ought to have mentioned that the police of a district, in our Bengal territories, consists of a magistrate and his assistant, who are European gentlemen of the civil service; and a certain number of Thanadars, from twelve to sixteen, who preside over the different subdivisions of the district in which they reside with their establishments. These Thanadars get twenty-five rupees a month, have under them four or five Jemadars upon eight rupees, and thirty or forty Burkundazes upon four rupees a month. The Jemadars are, most of them, placed in charge of nakas, or subdivisions of the Thanadar's jurisdiction, the rest are kept at their head-quarters, ready to move to any point where their services may be required. These are all paid by government; but there is in each village one watchman, and in large villages more than one, who are appointed by the head of villages, and paid by the communities, and required daily or periodically to report all the police matters of their villages to the Thanadars.* The distance

* There is a superintendent of police for the province of Bengal; but in the north-western provinces his duties are divided among the commissioners of revenue.

between the magistrates and Thanadars is at present immeasurable; and an infinite deal of mischief is done by the latter and those under them, of which the magistrates know nothing whatever. In the first place, they levy a fee of one rupee from every village at the festival of the Hooly in February; and another at that of the Duseyra in October; and in each Thanadar's jurisdiction there are from one to two hundred villages. These and numerous other unauthorised exactions they share with those under them; and with the native officers about the person of the magistrate, who, if not conciliated, can always manage to make them appear unfit for their places.

A robbery affords a rich harvest. Some article of stolen property is found in one man's house, and by a little legerdemain it is conveyed to that of another, both of whom are made to pay liberally; the man robbed also pays, and all the members of the village community are made to do the same. They are all called to the court of the Thanadar to give evidence, as to what they have seen or heard regarding either the fact, or the persons in the remotest degree connected with it—as to the arrests of the supposed offenders—the search of their house—the character of their grandmothers and grandfathers; and they are told, that they are to be sent to the magistrate a hundred miles distant, and there made to stand at the door among a hundred and fifty pairs of shoes, till *his excellency*, the Nazir, the under-sheriff of the court, may be pleased to announce them to his highness the magistrate—which of course he will not do without a *consideration*. To escape all these threatened evils they pay handsomely, and depart in peace. The Thanadar reports that an attempt to rob a house by persons unknown, had been defeated by his exertions, and the good fortune of the magistrate; and sends a liberal share of spoil to those who are to read his report to that functionary. This goes on more or less in every district, but more especially in those where the magistrate happens to be a man of violent temper, who

is always surrounded by knaves, because men who have any regard for their character will not approach him—or a weak, good-natured man, easily made to believe anything, and managed by favourites—or one too fond of field sports, or of music, painting, European languages, literature, and sciences, or, lastly, of his own ease.* Some magistrates think they can put down crime by dismissing the Thanadar; but this tends only to prevent crimes being reported to him; for in such cases the feelings of the people are in exact accordance with the interests of the Thanadars; and crimes augment by the assurance of impunity thereby given to criminals. The only remedy for all this evil is, to fill up the great gulf between the magistrate and Thanadar, by officers who shall be to him, what I have described the patrol officers to be to the collectors of Customs, at once the *tapis* of Prince Hosden, and the *telescope* of Prince Ali—a medium that will enable him to be everywhere, and see everything! And why is this remedy not applied? Simply and solely because such appointments would be given to the uncovenanted, and might tend indirectly to dimi-

* Mr. R., when appointed magistrate of the district of Futelpore on the Ganges, had a wish to translate the *Henriade*, and, in order to secure leisure, he issued a proclamation to all the Thanadars of his district to put down crime, declaring that he would hold them responsible for what might be committed, and dismiss from his situation every one who should suffer any to be committed within his charge. This district, lying on the borders of Oude, had been noted for the number and atrocious character of its crimes. From that day all the periodical returns went up to the superior court blank—not a crime was reported. Astonished at this sudden result of the change of magistrates, the superior court of Calcutta, (the *Sudder Nizamut Adawlut*) requested one of the judges, who was about to pass through the district on his way down, to inquire into the nature of the system, which seemed to work so well, with a view to its adoption in other districts. He found crimes were more abundant than ever; and the Thanadars showed him the proclamation, which had been understood as all such proclamations are, not as enjoining vigilance in the prosecution of crime, but as prohibiting all report of them, so as to save the magistrate trouble, and get him a good name with his superiors!

nish the appointments open to the covenanted servants of the Company. Young gentlemen of the civil service are supposed to be doing the duties which would be assigned to such officers while they are at school as assistants to magistrates and collectors ; and were this great gulf filled up by efficient uncovenanted officers, they would have no school to go to. There is no doubt some truth in this ; but the welfare of a whole people should not be sacrificed to keep this school or play-ground open exclusively for them ; let them act for a time as they would unwillingly do with the uncovenanted, and they will learn much more than if they occupied the ground exclusively and acted alone—they will be always with people ready and willing to tell them the real state of things, whereas, at present, they are always with those who studiously conceal it from them.

It is a common practice among Thanadars all over the country, to connive at the residence within their jurisdiction of gangs of robbers, on the condition, that they shall not rob within those limits, and shall give them a share of what they bring back from their distant expeditions. They go out ostensibly in search of service, on the termination of the rains of one season in October ; and return before their commencement the next, in June ; but their vocation is always well known to the police, and to all the people of their neighbourhood ; and very often to the magistrates themselves, who could, if they would, secure them on their return with their booty ; but this would not secure their conviction unless the proprietors could be discovered, which they scarcely ever could. Were the police officers to seize them, they would be all finally acquitted and released by the Judges—the magistrate would get into disrepute with his superiors, by the number of acquittals compared with the convictions exhibited in his monthly tables ; and he would vent his spleen upon the poor Thanadar, who would, at the same time, have incurred the resentment of the robbers ; and between both,

he would have no possible chance of escape. He therefore consults his own interest and his own ease by leaving them to carry on their trade of robbery or murder unmolested ; and his master, the magistrate, is well pleased not to be pestered with charges against men whom he has no chance of getting ultimately convicted. It was in this way that so many hundred families of assassins by profession, were able for so many generations to reside in the most cultivated and populous parts of our territories, and extend their depredations into the remotest parts of India, before our system of operations was brought to bear upon them in 1830. Their profession was perfectly well known to the people of the districts in which they resided, and to the greater part of the police ; they murdered not within their own district, and the police of that district cared nothing about what they might do beyond it.

The most respectable native gentleman in the city and district of M.—D. told me one day an amusing instance of the proceedings of a native officer of that district, which occurred about five years ago. “ In a village which he had purchased and let in farms, a shopkeeper was one day superintending the cutting of some sugar-cane which he had purchased from a cultivator as it stood. His name was Girdaree, I think, and the boy who was cutting it for him was the son of a poor man called Mudaree. Girdaree wanted to have the cane cut down as near as he could to the ground, while the boy, to save himself the trouble of stooping, would persist in cutting it a good deal too high up. After admonishing him several times, the shopkeeper gave him a smart clout on the head. The boy, to prevent a repetition, called out, ‘ Murder ! Girdaree has killed me—Girdaree has killed me ! ’ His old father, who was at work carrying away the cane at a little distance out of sight, ran off to the village watchman, and in his anger, told him that Girdaree had murdered his son. The watchman wept as fast as he could to the Thanadar, or head

police officer of the division, who resided some miles distant. The Thanadar ordered off his subordinate officer, the Jemadar, with half a dozen policemen, to arrange everything for an inquest on the body, by the time he should reach the place, with all due pomp. The Jemadar went to the house of the murderer, and dismounting, ordered all the shopkeepers of the village, who were many and respectable, to be forthwith seized, and bound hand and feet. 'So,' said the Jemadar, 'you have all been aiding and abetting your friend in the murder of poor Mudaree's only son!' 'May it please your excellency, we have never heard of any murder.' 'Impudent scoundrels,' roared the Jemadar; 'does not the poor boy lie dead in the sugar-cane field? and is not his highness the Thanadar coming to hold an inquest upon it? and do you take us for fools enough to believe that any scoundrel among you would venture to commit a deliberate murder without being aided and abetted by all the rest?' The village watchman began to feel some apprehension that he had been too precipitate; and entreated the Jemadar to go first and see the body of the boy. 'What do you take us for,' said the Jemadar, 'a thing without a stomachs? Do you suppose that government servants can live and labour on air. Are we to go and examine bodies upon empty stomach? Let his father take care of the body, and let these shopkeeping murderers provide us something to eat.' Nine rupees worth of sweetmeats, and materials for a feast, were forthwith collected at the expense of the shopkeepers, who stood bound, and waiting the arrival of his highness the Thanadar, who was soon after seen approaching majestically upon a richly caparisoned horse. 'What,' said the Jemadar, 'is there nobody to go and receive his highness in due form?' One of the shopkeepers was untied, and presented with fifteen rupees by his family, and those of the other shopkeepers. These he took up and presented to his highness, who deigned to receive them through one of his train, and then dismounted and partook


of the feast that had been provided. 'Now,' said his highness, 'we will go and hold an inquest on the body of the poor boy;' and off moved all the great functionaries of government to the sugar-cane field, with the village watchman leading the way. The father of the boy met them as they entered; and was pointed out to them by the village watchman. 'Where,' said the Thanadar, 'is your poor boy?' 'There,' said Mudaree, 'cutting the canes.' 'How cutting the canes? Was he not murdered by the shopkeepers?' 'No,' said Mudaree, 'he was beaten by Girdaree, and richly deserved it, I find.' Girdaree and the boy were called up, and the little urchin said, that he called out murder merely to prevent Girdaree from giving him another clout on the side of the head. His father was then fined nine rupees for giving a false alarm; and Girdaree, fifteen for so *unmercifully* beating the boy; and they were made to pay on the instant, under the penalty of being all sent off forty miles to the magistrate. Having thus settled this very important affair, his highness the Thanadar walked back to the shop, ordered all the shopkeepers to be set at liberty, smoked his pipe, mounted his horse and rode home, followed by all his police officers; and well pleased with his day's work."

The farmer of the village soon after made his way to the city, and communicated the circumstances to my old friend, who happened to be on intimate terms with the magistrate. He wrote a polite note to the Thanadar to say, that he should never get any rents from his estate if the occupants were liable to such fines as these, and that he should take the earliest opportunity of mentioning them to his friend, the magistrate. The Thanadar ascertained that he was really in the habit of visiting the magistrate, and communicating with him freely; and hushed up the matter by causing all, save the expenses of the feast, to be paid back. These are things of daily occurrence in all parts of our dominions, and the Thanadars are not afraid to play such "fantastic tricks," because all those under and all those above them share more or

less in the spoil, and are bound in honour to conceal them from the European magistrate, whom it is the interest of all to keep in the dark. They know that the people will hardly ever complain, from the great dislike they all have to appear in our courts, particularly when it is against any of the officers of those courts, or their friends and creatures in the district police.

When our operations commenced in 1830, these assassins revelled over every road in India in gangs of hundreds, without the fear of punishment from divine or human laws; but there is not now, I believe, a road in India infested by them. That our government has still defects, and very great ones, must be obvious to every one who has travelled much over India with the requisite qualifications and disposition to observe; but I believe, that in spite of all the defects I have noticed above in our police system, the life, property, and character of the innocent are now more secure, and all their advantages more freely enjoyed, than they ever were under any former government with whose history we are acquainted, or than they now are under any native government in India. Those who think they are not so, almost always refer to the reign of Shah Jehan, when men like Tavernier travelled so securely all over India with their bags of diamonds; but I would ask them, whether they think that the life, property, and character of the innocent could be anywhere very secure, or their advantages very freely enjoyed, in a country where a man could do openly with impunity what the traveller describes to have been done by the Persian physician of the governor of Allahabad? This governor being sickly, had in attendance upon him *eleven physicians*, one of whom was an European gentleman of education, Claudius Muelle, of Bourges. The chief favourite of the eleven was, however, a Persian; "who one day threw his wife from the top of a battlement to the ground in a fit of jealousy. He thought the fall would kill her, but she had only a few ribs broken; whereupon the kindred of the woman came and

demanded justice at the feet of the governor. The governor sending for the physician, commanded him to be gone, resolving to retain him no longer in his service. The physician obeyed; and putting his poor maimed wife in a palankeen, he set forward upon the road with all his family. But he had not gone above three or four days' journey from the city, when the governor, finding, himself worse than he was wont to be, sent to recall him; which the physician perceiving, stabbed his wife, his four children, and thirteen female slaves, and returned again to the Governor, who said not a word to him, but entertained him again in his service." This occurred within Tavernier's own knowledge, and about the time he visited Allahabad; and is related as by no means a very extraordinary circumstance.



CHAPTER XXII.

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 RENT-FREE TENURES—RIGHT OF GOVERNMENTS TO RESUME
 SUCH GRANTS.

ON the 27th, we went on fifteen miles to Begumabad, over a sandy and level country. All the peasantry along the roads were busy watering their fields; and the singing of the man who stood at the well to tell the other who guides the bullocks when to pull, after the leather bucket had been filled at the bottom, and when to stop as it reached the top, was extremely pleasing. It is said that Tanseyn, of Delhi, the most celebrated singer they have ever had in India, used to spend a great part of his time in these fields listening to the simple melodies of these water-drawers, which he learned to imitate and apply to his more finished vocal music. Popular belief ascribes to Tanseyn the power of stopping the river Jumna in its course. His contemporary and rival, Brij Bowla, who, according to popular belief, could split a rock with a single note, is said to have learned his base from the noise of the stone-mills which the women use in grinding the corn for their families. Tanseyn was a Brahman from Patna, who entered the service of the Emperor Akbar, became a Mussulman, and after the service of twenty-seven years, during which he was much beloved by the Emperor and all his court, he died at Gwalior in the 34th year of the Emperor's reign. His tomb is still to be seen at Gwalior. All his descendants are said to have a talent for music, and they have all Seyn added to their names.

While Madhojee Scindheea, the Gwalior chief, was prime minister, he made the Emperor assign to his daughter, the

Balakbae, in Jageer or rent-free tenure, ninety-five villages, rated in the imperial sunuds at three lacks of rupees a year. When the Emperor had been released from the "durance vile" in which he was kept by Dowlut Rao Scindheea, the adopted son of this chief by the army under Lord Lake, in 1803, and the countries in which these villages were situated, taken possession of, she was permitted to retain them on condition that they were to escheat to us on her death. She died in 1834, and we took possession of the villages which now yield, it is said, four lacks of rupees a year. Begumabad was one of them. It paid to the Balakbae only six hundred rupees a year, but it pays now to us six and twenty hundred rupees; but the farmers and cultivators do not pay a farthing more—the difference was taken by the favourite to whom she assigned the duties of collection, and who always took as much as he could get from them, and paid as little as he could to her. The tomb of the old collector stood near my tents, and his son, who came to visit it, told me, that he had heard from Gwahor, that a new Governor-general was about to arrive, who would probably order the villages to be given back, when he should be made collector of this village, as his father had been.

Had our government acted by all the rent-free lands in our territories on the same principle, they would have saved themselves a vast deal of expense, trouble, and odium. The justice of declaring all lands liable to resumption on the death of the present incumbents when not given by competent authority, for, and actually applied to the maintenance of religious, charitable, educational, or other establishments of manifest public utility, would never have been for a moment questioned by the people of India; because they would have all known, that it was in accordance with the usages of the country. If, at the same time that we declared all land liable to resumption, when not assigned by such authority and for such purposes and actually applied to them; we had declared that all grants by competent authority registered in

due form before the death of the present incumbents, should be liable on their death to the payment of government of only a quarter or half the rent arising from them, it would have been universally hailed as an act of great liberality, highly calculated to make our reign popular. As it is, we have admitted the right of former rulers of all descriptions to alienate in perpetuity the land, the principal source of the revenue of the state, in favour of their relatives, friends, and favourites, leaving upon the holders the burthen of proving, at a ruinous cost in fees and bribes, through court after court, that these alienations had been made by the authorities we declare competent, before the time prescribed; and we have thus given rise to an infinite deal of fraud, perjury, and forgery, and to the opinion, I fear, very generally prevalent, that we are anxious to take advantage of unavoidable flaws in the proof required, to trick them out of their lands by tedious judicial proceedings, while we profess to be desirous that they should retain them. In this, we have done ourselves great injustice.

Though these lands were often held for many generations under former governments, and for the exclusive benefit of the holders, it was almost always, when they were of any value, in collusion with the local authorities, who concealed the circumstances from their sovereign for a certain stipulated sum or share of the rents while they held office. This of course the holders were always willing to pay, knowing that no sovereign would hesitate much to resume the lands, should the circumstance of their holding them for their own private use alone, be ever brought to his notice. The local authorities were no doubt always willing to take a moderate share of the rent, knowing that they would get nothing should the lands be resumed by the sovereign. Sometimes the lands granted were either at the time the grant was made, or became soon after, waste and depopulated, in consequence of invasion or internal disorders; and remaining in this state for many generations, the intervening

sovereigns either knew nothing or cared nothing about the grants. Under our rule they became by degrees again cultivated and peopled ; and, in consequence, valuable, not by the exertions of the rent-free holders, for they were seldom known to do anything but collect the rents ; but by those of the farmers and cultivators who pay them.

When Saadut Ally Khan, the sovereign of Oude, ceded Rohilcund and other districts to the honourable Company in lieu of tribute in 1801, he resumed every inch of land held in rent-free tenure within the territories that remained with him, without condescending to assign any other reason than state necessity. The measure created a good deal of distress, particularly among the educated classes ; but not so much as a similar measure would have created within our territories, because all his revenues are expended in the maintenance of establishments formed exclusively out of the members of Oude families, and retained within the country, while ours are sent to pay establishments formed and maintained at a distance ; and those whose lands are resumed always find it exceedingly difficult to get employment suitable to their condition.

The face of the country between Delhi and Meerut is sadly denuded of its groves ; not a grove or an avenue is to be seen anywhere, and but few fine solitary trees. I asked the people of the cause, and was told by the old men of the village, that they remembered well when the Seikh chiefs who now bask under the sunshine of our protection, used to come over at the head of dulkas (bodies) of ten or twelve thousand horse each, and plunder and lay waste with fire and sword, at every returning harvest, the fine country which I now saw covered with rich sheets of cultivation, and which they had rendered a desolate waste, " without a man to make or a man to grant a petition," when Lord Lake came among them. They were, they say, looking on at a distance when he fought the battle of Delhi, and drove the Mahrattas, who

were almost as bad as the Seikhs, into the Jumna river, where ten thousand of them were drowned. The people of all classes in upper India feel the same reverence as our native soldiery for the name of this admirable soldier, and most worthy man, who did so much to promote our interests and sustain our reputation in this country.

The most beautiful trees in India are the bur, (banyan,) the peepul, and the tamarind. The two first are of the fig tribe, and their greatest enemies are elephants and camels of our public establishments and public servants, who prey upon them wherever they can find them when under the protection of their masters or keepers, who, when appealed to generally evince a very philosophical disregard to the feeling of either property or piety involved in the trespass. It is consequently in the driest and hottest parts of the country where the shade of these trees is most wanted, that it is least to be found; because it is there that camels thrive best, and are most kept, and it is most difficult to save such trees from their depredations.

In the evening, a trooper passed our tents on his way in great haste from Meerut to Delhi, to announce the death of the poor old Begum Sumroo, which had taken place the day before at her little capital of Sirdhannah. For five and twenty years had I been looking forward to the opportunity of seeing this very extraordinary woman, whose history had interested me more than that of any other character in India during my time; and I was sadly disappointed to hear of her death when within two or three stages of her capital.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE STATION OF MEFRUT---ATALEES WHO DANCE AND SING GRATIS FOR
THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR.

ON the 20th, we went on twelve miles to Meerut, and encamped close to the Sooruj Kond, so called after Soorojmul, the Jât chief of Deeg, whose tomb I have described at Goverdhun. He built here a very large tank, at the recommendation of the *spirit* of a Hindoo saint, Munohur Nath, whose remains had been burned here more than two hundred years before, and whose spirit appeared to the Jât chief in a *dream*, as he was encamped here with his army during one of his little *kingdom-taking* expeditions. This is a noble work, with a fine sheet of water, and flights of steps of pukka masonry from the top to its edge all round. The whole is kept in repair by our government. About half a mile to the north-west of the tank stands the tomb of Shah Peer, a Mahomedan saint, who is said to have descended from the mountains with the Hindoo, and to have been his bosom friend up to the day of his death. Both are said to have worked many wonderful miracles among the people of the surrounding country, who used to see them, according to popular belief, quietly taking their morning ride together upon the backs of two enormous tigers, who came every morning at the appointed hour from the distant jungle! The Hindoo is said to have been very fond of music; and though he has been now dead some three centuries, a crowd of amateurs (*atalees*) assemble every Sunday, afternoon at his shrine, on the bank of the tank and sing gratis, and in a very pleasing style, to an immense concourse of people, who assemble

to hear them, and to solicit the spirit of the old saint, softened by their melodies. At the tomb of the Mahomedan saint, a number of professional dancers and singers assemble every Thursday afternoon, and dance, sing, and play gratis to a large concourse of people, who make offerings of food to the poor, and implore the intercession of the old man with the Deity in return.

The Mahomedan's tomb is large and handsome, and built of red sandstone, inlaid with marble, but without any cupola, that there may be no *curtain* between him and heaven when he gets out of his "last long sleep" at the resurrection. Not far from his tomb is another, over the bones of a pilgrim they call "Gung-illum," or the *granary of science*. Professional singers and dancers attend it every Friday afternoon, and display their talents gratis to a large concourse, who bestow what they can in charity to the poor, who assemble on all these occasions to take what they can get. Another much frequented tomb lies over a Mahomedan saint, who has not been dead more than three years, named Gohur Sa. He owes his canonization to a few circumstances of recent occurrence, which are, however, universally believed. Mr. Smith, an enterprising merchant of Meerut, who had raised a large windmill for grinding corn in the Sudder Buzar, is said to have abused the old man as he was one day passing by, and looked with some contempt on his method of grinding, which was to take the bread from the mouths of so many old widows. "My child," said the old saint, "amuse thyself with this toy of thine, for it has but a few days to run." In four days from that time, the machine stopped. Poor Mr. Smith could not afford to set it going again, and it went to ruin. The whole native population of Meerut considered this a miracle of Gohur Sa! Just before his death, the country round Meerut was under water, and a great many houses fell, from incessant rain. The old man took up his residence, during this time, in a large surae in the town, but finding his end approach, he desired those who had taken shelter with

him, to have him taken to the jungle where he now reposes. They did so, and the instant they left the building it fell to the ground. Many who saw it, told me they had no doubt, that the virtues of the old man had sustained it while he was there, and prevented its crushing all who were in it. The tomb was built over his remains, by a Hindoo officer of the court, who had been long out of employment, and in great affliction. He had no sooner completed the tomb, and implored the aid of the old man, than he got into excellent service, and has been ever since a happy man. He makes regular offerings to his shrine, as a grateful return for the saint's kindness to him in his hour of need. Professional singers and dancers display their talents here gratis, as at the other tombs, every Wednesday afternoon.

The ground all round these tombs is becoming crowded with the graves of people, who, in their last moments, request to be buried (Zeer-i-saea) under the shadow of these saints, who, in their lifetime, are all said to have despised the pomps and vanities of this life; and to have taken nothing from their disciples and worshippers but what was indispensibly necessary to support existence—food being the only thing offered and accepted, and that taken only when they happened to be very hungry. Happy indeed was the man whose dish was put forward when the saint's appetite happened to be sharp! The death of the poor old Begum, has, it is said, just canonized another saint, Shakir Shah, who lies buried at Sirdhanna, but is claimed by the people of Meerut, among whom he lived, till about five years ago, when he desired to be taken to Sirdhanna, where he found the old lady very dangerously ill, and not expected to live. He was himself very old and ill when he set out from Meerut; and the journey is said to have shaken him so much, that he found his end approaching, and sent a messenger to the princess in these words: "Aea Teree, chulee hum"—"thine came, but I go;" that is, "Death came for thee, but I go in thy place;" and he told those around

him that she had precisely five years more to live. She is said to have caused a tomb to be built over him, and is believed by the people to have died that day five years.

All these things I learned as I wandered among the tombs of the old saints the first few evenings after my arrival at Meerut. I was interested in their history from the circumstance that amateur singers and professional dancers and musicians should display their talents at their shrines gratis, for the sake of getting alms for the poor of the place, given in their name—a thing I had never before heard of—though the custom prevails no doubt in other places; and that Mussulmans and Hindoos should join promiscuously in their devotions and charities at all these shrines. Munohur Nath's shrine, though he was a Hindoo, is attended by as many Mussulman as Hindoo pilgrims. He is said to have taken the *samud*, that is, to have buried himself alive in this place, as an offering to the Deity. Men who are afflicted with leprosy, or any other incurable disease in India, often take the *samaud*, that is, bury or drown themselves with due ceremonies, by which they are considered as acceptable sacrifices to the Deity. I once knew a Hindoo gentleman, of great wealth and respectability, and of high rank, under the government of Nagpore, who came to the river Nerbudda, two hundred miles, attended by a large retinue, to take the *samaud* in due form, from a painful disease, which the doctors pronounced incurable. After taking an affectionate leave of all his family and friends, he embarked on board the boat, which took him into the deepest part of the river. He then loaded himself with sand, as a sportman who is required to carry weights in a race loads himself with shot, and stepping into the water disappeared. The funeral ceremonies were then performed, and his family, friends, and followers returned to Nagpore, conscious that they had all done what they had been taught to consider their duty. Many poor men do the same every year when afflicted by any painful disease that they consider incurable. The

only way to prevent this is to carry out the plan now in progress, of giving to India in an accessible shape the medical science of Europe—a plan first adopted under Lord W. Bentinck, prosecuted by Lord Auckland, and superintended by two able and excellent men—Doctors Goodeve and O'Soughnessy. It will be one of the greatest blessings that India has ever received from England.



CHAPTER XXIV.

SUBDIVISION OF LANDS—WANT OF GRADATIONS OF RANK—TAXES.

THE country between Delhi and Meerut is well cultivated, and rich in the latent power of its soil; but there is here, as everywhere else in the upper provinces, a lamentable want of gradations in society, from the eternal subdivision of property in land; and the want of that concentration of capital in commerce and manufactures which characterise European—or I may take a wider range, and say Christian societies. Where, as in India, the landlord's share of the annual returns from the soil has been always taken by the government as the most legitimate fund for the payment of its public establishments; and the estates of the farmers, and the holdings of the immediate cultivators of the soil, are liable to be subdivided in equal shares among the sons in every succeeding generation, the land can never aid much directly in giving to society that, without which no society can possibly be well organised—a gradation of rank. Were the government to alter the system, to give up all the rent of the lands, and thereby convert all the farmers into proprietors of their estates, the case would not be much altered, while the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of inheritance remained the same; for the eternal subdivision would still go on, and reduce all connected with the soil to one common level; and the people would be harassed with a multiplicity of taxes, from which they are now free, that would have to be imposed to supply the place of the rent given up. The agricultural capitalists who derived their incomes from the interest of money

advanced to the farmers and cultivators for subsistence and the purchase of stock, were commonly men of rank and influence in society ; but they were never a numerous class. The mass of the people in India are really not at present sensible that they pay any taxes at all. The only necessary of life, whose price is at all increased by taxes, is salt, and the consumer is hardly aware of this increase. The natives never eat salted meat ; and though they require a great deal of salt, living, as they do, so much on vegetable food ; still they purchase it in such small quantities from day to day as they require it, that they really never think of the tax that may have been paid upon it in its progress. To understand the nature of taxation in India, an Englishman should suppose that all the non-farming landholders of his native country had, a century or two ago, consented to resign their property into the hands of their sovereign, for the maintenance of his civil functionaries, army, navy, church, and public creditors—and then suddenly disappeared from the community, leaving, to till the lands, merely the farmers and the cultivators; and that their forty millions of rent were just the sum that the government now required to pay all these four great establishments. To understand the nature of the public debt of England, a man has only to suppose one great national establishment, twice as large as those of the civil functionaries, the army, navy, and the church together, and composed of members with fixed salaries, who purchased their commissions from the “ *wisdom of our ancestors*,” with liberty to sell them to whom they please—who have no duty to perform for the public,* and have, like Adam and Eve, the privilege of going to “ seek their place of rest” in what part of the world they please—a privilege of which they will of course be found more and more anxious to avail themselves, as taxation presses on the one side, and prohibi-

* They have no duty to perform as creditors ; but as citizens of an enlightened nation they, no doubt perform a many of them, very important ones.

tion to the import of the necessaries of life diminishes the means of paying them on the other. The repeal of the Corn Laws may give a new lift to England—it may greatly increase the foreign demand for the produce of its manufacturing industry—it may invite back a large portion of those who now spend their incomes in foreign countries, and prevent from going abroad to reside, a vast number who would otherwise go. These laws must soon be repealed, or England must greatly reduce one or other of its great establishments—the national debt, the church, the army, or the navy. The Corn Laws press upon England just in the same manner as the discovery of the passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, pressed upon Venice and the other states, whose welfare depended upon the transit of the produce of India by land. But the navigation of the Cape benefited all other European nations at the same time—that it pressed upon those particular states, by giving them all the produce of India at cheaper rates than they would otherwise have got it, and by opening the markets of India to the produce of all other European nations. The Corn Laws benefit only one small section of the people of England, while they weigh, like an incubus, upon the vital energies of all the rest; and, at the same time, injure all other nations by preventing their getting the produce of manufacturing industry so cheap as they would otherwise get it. They have not, therefore, the merit of benefiting other nations, at the same time that they crush their own.

• For some twenty or thirty years of our rule, too many of the collectors of our land revenue, in what we call the western provinces, sought the “bubble reputation” in an increase of assessment upon the lands of their district every five years, when the settlement was renewed. The more the assessment was increased, the greater was the praise bestowed upon the collector by the revenue boards, or the revenue secretary to government, in the name of the Governor-General of India. These collectors found an easy

mode of acquiring this reputation—they left the settlements to their native officers, and shut their ears to all complaints of grievances, till they had reduced all the landholders of their districts to one common level of beggary, without stock, character, or credit; and transferred a great portion of their estates to the native officers of their own courts through the medium of the auction sales that took place for the arrears, or pretended arrears, of revenue. A better feeling has for some years past prevailed; and collectors have sought their reputation in a real knowledge of their duties, and a real good feeling towards the farmers and cultivators of their districts. For this better tone of feeling, the western provinces are, I believe, chiefly indebted to Mr. R. M. Bird, of the revenue board, one of the most able public officers now in India. A settlement for twenty years is now in progress that will leave the farmers at least thirty-five per cent., upon the gross collections, from the immediate cultivators of the soil,* that is, the amount of the revenue demandable by government from the estate, will be that less than what the farmer will, and would, under any circumstances, levy from the cultivators in his detailed settlement. The farmer lets all the land of his estate out to cultivators, and takes in money this rate of profit for his expense, trouble, and risk; or he lets out to the cultivators enough to pay the government demand, and tills the rest with his own stock, rent free. When a division takes place between his sons, they either divide the estate, and become each responsible for his particular share, or they divide the profits, and remain collectively responsible to government for the whole, leaving one member of the family registered as the lessee and responsible head.

* Fifty per cent. may be considered as the average rate left to the lessees or proprietors, of estates under this new settlement; and if they take on an average one-third of the gross produce, government takes two-ninths. But we may rate the government share of the produce actually taken at one-fifth as the maximum, and one-tenth as the minimum.

In the Ryutwar system of southern India, government officers, removable at the pleasure of the government collector, are substituted for these farmers, or more properly proprietors of estates; and a system more prejudicial to the best interests of society, could not well be devised by the ingenuity of man. It has been supposed by some theorists, who are practically unacquainted with agriculture in this or any other country, that all who have any interest in the land above the rank of cultivator, or ploughman, are mere *drones*, or useless consumers of that rent which, under judicious management, might be added to the revenues of government—that all which they get might, and ought to be, either left with the cultivators or taken by the government. At the head of these is the justly celebrated historian Mr. Mill. But men who understand the subject practically, know that the intermediate agency of a farmer, who has a feeling of permanent interest in the estate or an interest for a long period, is a thousand times better, both for the government and the people, than that of a government officer of any description, much less that of one removable at the will of the collector. Government can always get more revenue from a village under the management of the farmer; the character of the cultivators and village community generally is much better; the tillage is much better; and the produce, from more careful weeding and attention of all kinds, sells much better in the market. The better character of the cultivators enables them to get the loans they require to purchase stock, and to pay the government demand on more moderate terms from the capitalists, who rely upon the farmer, to aid in the recovery of their outlays, without reference to civil courts, which are ruinous media, as well in India as in other places. The farmer or landlord finds, in the same manner, that he can get much more from lands let out on lease to the cultivators or yeomen, who depend upon their own character, credit, and stock, than he can from similar lands cultivated with his own stock,

and hired labourers can never be got to labour either so long or so well.* The labour of the Indian cultivating lessee is always applied in the proper quantity, and at the proper time and place—that of the hired field-labourer hardly ever is. The skilful coachmaker always puts on the precise quantity of iron required to make his coach strong, because he knows where it is required; his coach is, at the same time, as light as it can be, with safety. The unskilful workman either puts on too much, and makes his coach heavy; or he puts it in the wrong place, and leaves it weak.

If government extends the twenty years' settlement, now in progress, to fifty years or more, they will confer a great blessing upon the people, and they might, perhaps, do it on the condition that the incumbent consented to allow the lease to descend undivided to his heirs by the law of primogeniture. To this condition all classes would readily agree, for I have heard Hindoo and Mahomedan landholders all equally lament the evil effects of the laws by which families are so quickly and inevitably broken up; and say, "that it is the duty of government to take advantage of their power, as the great proprietor and leaser of all the lands, to prevent the evil, by declaring leases indivisible. There would then," they say, "be always one head to assist in maintaining the widows and orphans of deceased members, in educating his brothers and nephews; and by his influence and respectability, procuring employment for them." In such men, with feelings of permanent interest in their estates, and in the stability of the government that secured them possession on such favourable terms, and with the means of educating their children, we should by-and-by find our best support, and society its best element. The law of primogeniture at present prevails only where it is most mischievous under our rule, among the feudal chiefs, whose ancestors rose to distinction, and acquired their possessions by rapine in times of invasion and civil wars. This law among

them tends to perpetuate the desire to maintain those military establishments, by which the founders of their families rose, in the hope that the times of invasion and civil wars may return, and open to them a similar field for exertion. It fosters a class of powerful men, essentially and irredeemably opposed in feeling, not only to our rule, but to settled government under any rule ; and the sooner the Hindoo law of inheritance is allowed by the paramount power, to take its course among these feudal chiefs, the better for society. There is always a strong tendency to it, in the desire of the younger brothers, to share in the loaves and fishes ; and this tendency is checked only by the injudicious interposition of our authority.

To give India the advantage of free institutions, or all the blessings of which she is capable, under an enlightened paternal government, nothing is more essential than the supersession of this feudal aristocracy by one founded upon other bases, and, above all, upon that of the concentration of capital in commerce and manufactures. Nothing tends so much to prevent the accumulation and concentration of capital over India, as this feudal aristocracy which tends everywhere to destroy that feeling of security without which men will nowhere accumulate and concentrate it. They do so, not only by those intrigues and combinations against the paramount power, which keep alive the dread of internal wars and foreign invasion, but by those gangs of robbers and murderers which they foster and locate upon their estates to prey upon the more favoured or better governed territories around them. From those gangs of freebooters, which are to be found upon the estate of almost every native chief, no accumulation of moveable property of any value is ever for a moment considered safe, and those who happen to have any such are always in dread of losing, not only their property, but their lives along with it, for these gangs, secure in the protection of such chief, are reckless in their attack, and kill all who happen to come in their way.

CHAPTER XXV.

MEERUT—ANGLO-INDIAN SOCIETY.

MEERUT is a large station for military and civil establishments; it is the residence of a civil commissioner, a judge, a magistrate, a collector of land revenue, and all their assistants and establishments. There are the major-general, commanding the division; the brigadier, commanding the station; four troops of horse, and a company of foot artillery. One regiment of European cavalry, one of European infantry, one of native cavalry, and three of native infantry.* It is justly considered the healthiest station in India, for both Europeans and natives, and I visited it in the latter end of the cold, which is the healthiest season of the year; yet the European ladies were looking as if they had all come out of their graves, and talking of the necessity of going off to the mountains, to renovate as soon as the hot weather should set in. They had literally been *fagging themselves to death with gaiety*, at this the gayest and most delightful of all Indian stations, during the cold months, when they ought to have been laying in a store of strength to carry them through the trying seasons of the hot winds and rains. Up every night, and all night, at balls and suppers, they could never go out to breathe the fresh air of the

* In India officers have much better opportunities, in time of peace, to learn how to handle troops than in England, from having them more concentrated in large stations, with fine open plains to exercise upon. During the whole of the cold season, from the beginning of November to the end of February, the troops are at large stations exercised in brigades, and the artillery, cavalry, and infantry together.

morning ; and were looking wretchedly ill, while the European soldiers from the barracks seemed as fresh as if they had never left their native land ! There is no doubt that sitting up late at night is extremely prejudicial to the health of Europeans in India. I have never seen the European, male or female, that could stand it long, however temperate in habits ; and an old friend of mine once told me, that if he went to bed a little exhilarated every night at ten o'clock, and took his ride in the morning, he found himself much better than if he sat up till twelve or one o'clock without drinking, and lay a-bed in the mornings. Almost all the gay pleasures of society in India are enjoyed at night ; and as ladies here, as everywhere else in Christian societies, are the life and soul of all good parties, as of all good novels, they often, to oblige others, sit up late, much against their own inclinations, and even their judgments, aware, as they are, that they are gradually sinking under the undue exertions.

When I first came to India there were a few ladies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnstone, then between seventy and eighty years of age.* All these old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old "usages." They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages ; and from the time they returned, till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at this time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society ; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough ; and

* The late Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, married this old lady's daughter. He was always very attentive to her, and she used, with feelings of great pride and pleasure, to display the contents of the boxes of millinery which he used every year to send out to her.

a few who had been previously invited staid supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnstone at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor-general himself, delighted to honour this old day, the widow of a Governor-general of India, and the mother-in-law of a prime minister of England. She was at Moorshedabad when Sooruj-od-Doula marched from that place at the head of the army, that took and plundered Calcutta, and caused so many Europeans to perish in the *black hole*; and she was herself saved from becoming a member of his seraglio, or perishing with the rest, by the circumstance of her being far gone in her pregnancy, which caused her to be made over to a Dutch factory.

She had been a very beautiful woman, and had been several times married; the pictures of all her husbands being hung round her noble drawing-room in Calcutta, covered during the day with crimson cloth, to save them from the dust, and uncovered at night only on particular occasions. One evening Mrs. Crommelin, a friend of mine, pointing to one of them, asked the old lady his name. "Really I cannot at this moment tell you, my dear; my memory is very bad, (striking her forehead with her right hand, as she leaned with her left arm in Mrs. Crommelin's,) but I shall recollect in a few minutes." The old lady's last husband was a clergyman, one of the presidency chaplains, Mr. Johnstone, whom she found too gay, and persuaded to go home upon an annuity of eight hundred a year, which she settled upon him for life. The bulk of her fortune went to Lord Liverpool, the rest to her grandchildren—the Rickets, Watts, and others.

Since those days, the modes of intercourse in India have much altered. Societies at all the stations, beyond the three capitals of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, is confined almost exclusively to the members of the civil and military services, who seldom remain long at the same station—the military officers hardly ever more than three years, and the civil hardly so ever long. At disagree-

able stations, the civil servants seldom remain so many months. Every new-comer calls in the forenoon upon all that are at the station when he arrives; and they return his call at the same hour soon after. If he is a married man, the married men, upon whom he has called, take their wives to call upon him; and he takes his to return the call of theirs. These calls are all indispensable; and, being made in the forenoon, become very disagreeable in the hot season: all complain of them, yet no one foregoes his claim upon them; and till the claim is fulfilled, people will not recognise each other as acquaintances. Unmarried officers generally dine in the evening, because it is a more convenient hour for the mess; and married civil functionaries do the same, because it is more convenient for their office work. If you invite those who dine at that hour to spend the evening with you, you must invite them to dinner even in the hot weather; and if they invite you, it is to dinner. This makes intercourse somewhat heavy at all times, but more especially so in the hot season, when a table covered with animal food is sickening to any person without a keen appetite, and stupefying to those who have it. No one thinks of inviting people to a dinner and ball—it would be vandalism; and when you invite them, as is always the case, to come after dinner, the ball never begins till late at night, and seldom ends till late in the morning! With all its disadvantages, however, I think dining in the evening much better for those who are in health, than dining in the afternoon, provided people can avoid the intermediate meal of tiffin. No person in India should eat animal food more than once a day; and people who dine in the evening generally eat less than they would if they dined in the afternoon. A light breakfast at nine; biscuit, or a slice of toast with a glass of water, or soda-water, at two o'clock, and dinner, after the evening exercise, is the plan which I should recommend every European to adopt in India as the most agreeable. When their digestive powers get out of order, people must do as the doctors tell them,

There is, I believe, no society in which there is more real urbanity of manners than in that of India—a more general disposition on the part of its different members to sacrifice their own comforts and convenience to those of others, and to make those around them happy, without letting them see that it costs them an effort to do so. There is assuredly no society where the members are more generally free from those corroding cares and anxieties which “weigh upon the hearts” of men whose incomes are precarious, and position in the world uncertain. They receive their salaries on a certain day every month, whatever may be the state of the seasons, or of trade; they pay no taxes, they rise in the several services by rotation; religious feelings and opinions are by common consent left as a question between man and his Maker; no one ever thinks of questioning another about them, nor would he be tolerated if he did so. Most people take it for granted, that those which they got from their parents were the right ones; and as such they cherish them. They remember, with feelings of filial piety, the prayers which they, in their infancy, offered to their Maker, while kneeling by the side of their mothers; and they continue to offer them up through life, with the same feelings and the same hopes.

Differences of political opinion, which agitate society so much in England and other countries, where every man believes that his own personal interests must always be more or less affected by the predominance of one party over another, are no doubt a source of much interest to people in India; but they scarcely ever excite any angry passions among them. The tempests by which the political atmosphere of the world is cleared and purged of all its morbid influences, burst not upon us—we see them at a distance—we know that they are working good for all mankind; and we feel for those who boldly expose themselves to their “pitiless peltings,” as men feel for the sailors whom they suppose to be exposed on the ocean to the storm, while they listen to it from their


beds or their winter firesides. We discuss all political opinions, and all the great questions which they affect, with the calmness of philosophers ; not without emotion certainly, but without passion : we have no share in returning members to parliament—we feel no dread of those injuries, indignities, and calumnies to which those who have are too often exposed ; and we are free from the bitterness of feelings which always attend them. How exalted, how glorious has been the destiny of England, to spread over so vast a portion of the globe, her literature, her language, and her free institutions ! How ought the sense of this high destiny to animate her sons in their efforts to perfect those institutions which they have formed by slow degrees from feudal barbarism ; to make them, in reality, as perfect as they would have them appear to the world to be in theory, that rising nations may love and honour the source whence they derive theirs, and continue to look to it for improvement.

We return to the society of our wives and children after the labours of the day are over, with tempers unruffled by collision with political and religious antagonists, by unfavorable changes in the state of the seasons and the markets, and the other circumstances which affect so much the incomes and prospects of our friends at home. We must look to them for the chief pleasures of our lives, and know that they must look to us for theirs ; and if anything has crossed us we try to conceal it from them. There is in India a strong feeling of mutual dependence, that prevents little domestic misunderstandings between man and wife from growing into quarrels so often as in other countries, where this is less prevalent. Men have not here their *clubs*, nor their wives their little *coteries*, to fly to when disposed to make serious matters out of trifles ; and both are in consequence much inclined to bear and forbear. There are, of course, on the other hand, evils in India that people have not to contend with at home ; but, on the whole, those who are disposed to look on the fair, as well as on

the dark side of all around them, can enjoy life in India very much, as long as they and those dear to them are free from physical pain. We everywhere find too many disposed to look upon the dark side of all that is present, and the bright side of all that is distant in time and place—always miserable themselves, be where they will; and making all around them miserable: this commonly arises from indigestion; and this from a habit of eating and drinking in a hot, as they would in a cold climate; and giving their stomachs too much to do, as if they were the only parts of the human frame whose energies were unrelaxed by the temperature of tropical climates. There is, however, one great defect in Anglo-Indian society: it is composed too exclusively of the servants of government, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, and wants much of the freshness, variety, and intelligence of cultivated societies otherwise constituted. In societies where capital is concentrated for employment in large agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing establishments, those who possess and employ it, form a large portion of the middle and higher classes. They require the application of the higher branches of science to the efficient employment of their capital in almost every purpose to which it can be applied; and they require, at the same time, to show that they are not deficient in that conventional learning of the schools and drawing-rooms, to which the circles they live and move in, attach importance. In such societies we are, therefore, always coming in contact with men whose scientific knowledge is necessarily very precise and at the same time very extensive, while their manners and conversation are of the highest polish. There is, perhaps, nothing which strikes a gentleman from India so much on his entering a society differently constituted, as the superior precision of men's information upon scientific subjects; and more especially upon that of the sciences more immediately applicable to the arts by which the physical enjoyments of man are produced, prepared, and distributed over the world. Almost all

men in India feel, that too much of their time, before they left England, was devoted to the acquisition of the dead languages ; and too little to the study of the elements of science. The time lost can never be regained—at least they think so, which is much the same thing. Had they been well-grounded in the elements of physics, physiology, and chemistry, before they left their native land, they would have gladly devoted their leisure to the improvement of their knowledge ; but to go back to elements, where elements can be learnt only from books, is, unhappily, what so few can bring themselves to, that no man feels ashamed of acknowledging, that he has never studied them at all, till he returns to England, or enters a society differently constituted, and finds that he has lost the support of the great majority that always surrounded him in India. It will, perhaps, be said, that the members of the official aristocracy of all countries have more or less of the same defects, for certain it is, that they everywhere attach paramount or undue importance to the conventional learning of the grammar-school and the drawing-room, and the ignorant and the indolent have perhaps everywhere the support of a great majority. Johnson has, however, observed—" But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences, which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong ; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues and excellencies of all times, and of all places—we are perpetually moralists ; but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary ; our speculations upon matter are voluntary and at leisure. Physiological learning

is of such rare emergence, that one may know another half his life, without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears. Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools, that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians."—Life of Milton.



CHAPTER XXVI.

PILGRIMS OF INDIA.

THERE is nothing which strikes an European more in travelling over the great roads in India than the vast number of pilgrims of all kinds which he falls in with, particularly between the end of November, when all the autumn harvest has been gathered, and the seed of the spring crops has been put in the ground. They consist, for the most, of persons, male and female, carrying Ganges water from the point at Hurdwar, where the sacred stream emerges from the hills to the different temples in all parts of India, dedicated to the gods Vishnoo and Sewa. There the water is thrown upon the stones which represent the gods, and when it falls from these stones it is called the "Chunda Mirt," or holy water, and is frequently collected, and reserved to be drunk as a remedy "for a mind diseased."

This water is carried in small bottles, bearing the seals of the presiding priest at the holy place whence it is brought. The bottles are contained in covered baskets, fixed to the ends of a pole, which is carried across the shoulder. The people who carry it are of three kinds; those who carry it for themselves as a votive offering to some shrine—those who are hired for the purpose by others as salaried servants—and, thirdly, those who carry it for sale. In the interval between the sowing and reaping of the spring crops—that is, between November and March, a very large portion of the Hindoo landholders and cultivators of India, devote their leisure to this pious duty. They take their baskets and

poles with them from home, or purchase them on the road ; and having poured their libations on the head of the god, and made him acquainted with their wants and wishes, return home. From November to March, three-fourths of the number of these people one meets, consist of this class. At other seasons more than three-fourths consist of the other two classes—of persons hired for the purpose as servants, and those who carry the water for sale.

One morning the old Jemadar, the marriage of whose mango grove with the jasmine I have already described, brought his two sons and a nephew to pay their respects to me on their return to Jubbulpore from a pilgrimage to Jugunnath. The sickness of the youngest, a nice boy of about six years of age, had caused this pilgrimage. The eldest son was about twenty years of age, and the nephew about eighteen.

After the usual compliments, I addressed the eldest son—
 “ And so your brother was really very ill when you set out ? ”

“ Very ill, sir ; hardly able to stand without assistance.”

“ What was the matter with him ? ”

“ It was what we call a drying up, or withering of the system.”

“ What were the symptoms ? ”

“ Dysentery.”

“ Good. And what cured him, as he now seems quite well ? ”

“ Our mother and father vowed five pair of baskets of Ganges water to Gujadhur, an incarnation of the god Sewa, at the temple of Byjoonath, and a visit to the temple of Jugunnath.”

“ And having fulfilled these vows, your brother recovered ? ”

“ He had quite recovered, sir, before we set out on our return from Jugunnath.”

“ And who carried the baskets ? ”

“ My mother, wife, cousin, myself, and little brother, all carried one pair each.”

"This little boy could not surely carry a pair of baskets all the way?"

"No, sir; we had a pair of small baskets made especially for him; and when within about three miles of the temple, he got down from his little pony, took up his baskets, and carried them to the god. Up to within three miles of the temple, the baskets were carried by a Brahman servant, whom we had taken with us to cook our food. We had with us another Brahman, to whom we had to pay only a trifle, as his principal wages were made up of fees from families in the town of Jubbulpore, who had made similar vows, and gave him so much a bottle for the water he carried in their several names to the god?"

"Did you give all your water to the Byjoonath temple, or carry some with you to Jugunnath?"

"No water is ever offered to Jugunnath, sir; he is an incarnation of Vishnoo."

"And does Vishnoo never drink?"

"He drinks, sir, no doubt; but he gets nothing but offerings of food and money."

"And what is the distance you went?"

"From this to Bindachul, or the Ganges, two hundred and thirty miles; thence to Byjoonath, a hundred and fifty miles; and thence to Jugunnath, some four or five hundred miles more."

"And your mother and wife walked all the way with their baskets?"

"All the way, sir, except when either of them got sick, when she mounted the pony with my little brother, till she felt well again."

Here were four members of a respectable family walking a pilgrimage of between twelve and fourteen hundred miles, going and coming, and carrying burthens on their shoulders for the recovery of the poor sick boy; and millions of families are every year doing the same from all parts of India. The change of air, and exercise, cured the boy, and no doubt did them all a great

deal of good ; but no physician in the world, but a religious one, could have persuaded them to undertake such a journey for the same purpose.

The rest of the pilgrims we meet are for the most part of the two monastic orders of Gosaens, or the followers of Sewa, and Byragees or followers of Vishnoo, and Mahomedan Fukeers. A Hindoo of any caste may become a member of these monastic orders. They are all disciples of the high priests of the temples of their respective gods ; and in their name they wander over all India, visiting the celebrated temples which are dedicated to them. A part of the revenues of these temples is devoted to subsisting these disciples as they pass ; and every one of them claims the right of a day's food and lodging, or more, according to the rules of the temple. They make collections along the roads ; and when they return, commonly bring back some surplus as an offering to their apostle, the high priest who has adopted them. Almost every high priest has a good many such disciples, as they are not costly ; and from them returning occasionally, and from the disciples of others passing, these high priests learn everything of importance that is going on over India, and are well acquainted with the state of feeling and opinion.

What these disciples get from secular people, is given not from feelings of charity or compassion, but as a religious or propitiatory offering ; for they are all considered to be armed by their apostle with a vicarious power of blessing or cursing ; and as being in themselves men of God, whom it might be dangerous to displease. They never condescend to feign disease or misery in order to excite feelings of compassion, but demand what they want with a bold front, as holy men who have a right to share liberally in the superfluities which God has given to the rest of the Hindoo community. They are in general exceedingly intelligent men of the world, and very communicative. Among them will be found members of all classes of Hindoo society ; and of the

most wealthy and respectable families. While I had charge of the Nursingpoor district, in 1822, a Byragee or follower of Vishnoo came, and settled himself down on the border of a village near my residence. His mild and paternal deportment pleased all the little community so much, that they carried him every day more food than he required. At last, the proprietor of the village, a very respectable old gentleman, to whom I was much attached, went out with all his family to ask a blessing of the holy man. As they sat down before him, the tears were seen stealing down over his cheeks as he looked upon the old man's younger sons and daughters. At last, the old man's wife burst into tears, ran up, and fell upon the holy man's neck, exclaiming, "My lost son! my lost son!" He was indeed her eldest son. He had disappeared suddenly twelve years before, become a disciple of the high priest of a distant temple, and visited almost every celebrated temple in India, from Kedernath in the eternal snows, to Set Bund Ramesur, opposite the island of Ceylon. He remained with the family for nearly a year, delighting them and all the country around with his narratives. At last, he seemed to lose his spirits, his usual rest and appetite; and one night he again disappeared. He had been absent for some years when I last saw the family; and I know not whether he ever returned.

The real members of these monastic orders are not generally bad men; but there are a great many bad men of all kinds who put on their disguises, and under their cloak commit all kinds of atrocities. The security and convenience which the real pilgrims enjoy upon our roads, and the entire freedom from all taxation, both upon these roads, and at the different temples they visit, tend greatly to attach them to our rule, and through that attachment, a tone of good feeling towards it is generally disseminated over all India. They come from the native states, and become acquainted with the superior advantages the people under us enjoy, in the greater security of property, the greater freedom with which it is

enjoyed and displayed ; the greater exemption from taxation, and the odious right of search which it involves ; the greater facilities for travelling in good roads and bridges ; the greater respectability and integrity of public servants arising from the greater security in their tenure of office, and more adequate rate of avowed salaries ; the entire freedom of the navigation of our great rivers, on which thousands and tens of thousands of laden vessels now pass from one end to the other without any one to question whence they come or whither they go. These are tangible proofs of good government, which all can appreciate ; and as the European gentleman, in his rambles along the great roads, passes the lines of pilgrims, with which the roads are crowded during the cold season, he is sure to hear himself hailed with grateful shouts, as one of those who secured for them and the people generally all the blessings they now enjoy.

One day my sporting friend, the Rajah of Myhere, told me that he had been purchasing some water from the Ganges at its source, to wash the image of Vishnoo which stood in one of his temples. I asked him whether he ever drank the water after the image had been washed in it. "Yes," said he, "we all occasionally drink the Chunda Mirt." "And do you in the same manner drink the water in which the god Sewa has been washed?" "Never," said the Rajah. "And why not?" "Because his wife, Davey, one day in a domestic quarrel, cursed him, and said, 'The water which falls from thy head, shall no man henceforward drink.' From that day," said the Rajah, "no man has ever drunk of the water that washes his image, lest Davey should punish him." "And how is it then, Rajah Sahib, that mankind continue to drink the water of the Ganges which is supposed to flow from her husband Sewa's topknot?" "Because," replied the Rajah, "this sacred river first flows from the right foot of the god Vishnoo, and thence passes over the head of Sewa. The three gods," continued the Rajah, "govern the world turn and turn about, twenty

years at a time. While Vishnoo reigns, all goes on well ; rain descends in good season, the harvests are abundant, and the cattle thrive. When Brahma reigns, there is a little falling off in these matters ; but during the twenty years that Sewa reigns, nothing goes on well—we are all at cross purposes ; our crops fail, the cattle get the murrain, and mankind suffer from epidemic diseases.” The Rajah was a follower of Vishnoo, as may be guessed.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BEGUM SUMROO.

On the 7th February, I went out to Sirdhana and visited the Church built and endowed by the late Begum Sombre, whose remains are now deposited in it. It was designed by an Italian gentleman, M. Reghelini, and is a fine but not a striking building. I met the bishop, Julius Cæsar, an Italian from Milan, whom I had known a quarter of a century before, a happy and handsome young man—he is still handsome, though old; but very miserable, because the Begum did not leave him so large a legacy as he expected. In the revenues of her church he had, she thought, quite enough to live upon; and she said, that priests, without wives or children to care about, ought to be satisfied with this; and left him only a few thousand rupees. She made him the medium of conveying a donation to the See of Rome of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees; and thereby procured for him the bishopric of *Amartanta*, in the island of Cyprus; and got her grandson, Dyco Sombre, made a chevalier of the order of Christ, and presented with a splint from the *real cross*, as a relict.

The Begum Sombre was by birth a Syudanee, or lineal descendant from Mahomed, the founder of the Mussulman faith; and she was united to Walter Reinhard when very young, by all the forms considered necessary by persons of her persuasion when married to men of another. Reinhard had been married to another woman of the Mussulman faith, who still lives at Sirdhana,*

* This first wife died at Sirdhana, during the rainy season of 1838. She must have been above one hundred years of age; and a good many of the Europeans that lie buried in the Sirdhana cemetery, had lived above a hundred years.

but she had become insane, and has ever since remained so. By this first wife he had a son, who got from the Emperor the title of Zuffar Yab Khan, at the request of the Begum, his step-mother; but he was a man of weak intellect, and so little thought of, that he was not recognised even as the nominal chief on the death of his father.

Walter Reinhard was a native of Salzburg. He enlisted as a private soldier in the French service, and came to India, where he entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the rank of serjeant. Reinhard got the soubriquet of Sombre from his comrades while in the French service, from the sombre cast of his countenance and temper. An Armenian, by name Gregory, of a Calcutta family, the virtual minister of Kasim Alee Khan, under the title of Gorgeen Khan, took him into his service, when the war was about to commence between his master and the English. Kasim Alee was a native of Cashmere, and not naturally a bad man; but he was goaded to madness by the injuries and insults heaped upon him by the servants of the East India Company, who were not then paid, as at present, in adequate salaries, but in profits upon all kinds of monopolies; and they would not suffer the recognised sovereign of the country in which they traded, to grant to his subjects the same exemption from the transit duties which they themselves enjoyed, as it would, they argued, tend greatly to diminish their incomes! He insisted upon the right to grant his subjects generally the same exemption that they claimed for themselves exclusively; and a war was the consequence!*

* Mill observes upon these transactions: "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of self-interest to extinguish all sense of justice and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt all their goods from duty: they now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders, and accused it as guilty of a breach of the peace towards the English nation, because it proposed to remit them."

Mr. Ellis, one of these civil servants and chief of the factory at Patna, whose opinions had more weight with the council in Calcutta than all the wisdom of such men as Vansittart and Warren Hastings, because they happened to be more consonant with the personal interests of the majority, precipitately brought on the war; and assumed the direction of all military operations, of which he knew nothing, and for which he seems to have been totally unfitted by the violence of his temper. All his enterprises failed—the city and factory were captured by the enemy; and the European inhabitants taken prisoners. The Nawab, smarting under the reiterated wrongs he had received, and which he attributed mainly to the councils of Mr. Ellis, no sooner found the chief within his grasp, than he determined to have him and all who were taken with him, save a Doctor Fullerton, to whom he owed some personal obligations, put to death. His own native officers were shocked at the proposal, and tried to dissuade him from the purpose; but he was resolved; and not finding among them any willing to carry it into execution, he applied to Sumroo, who readily undertook, and with some of his myrmidons, performed the horrible duty in 1763. At the suggestion of Gregory and Sombre, Kasim Alee now attempted to take the small principality of Nepaul, as a kind of basis for his operations against the English. He had four hundred excellent rifles with flint locks and screwed barrels made at Monghir, on the Ganges, so as to fit into small boxes. These boxes were sent on upon the backs of four hundred brave volunteers for this forlorn hope. Gregory had got a passport for the boxes, as rare merchandise for the palace of the Prince, at Katmandhoo, in whose presence alone they were to be opened. On reaching the palace at night, these volunteers were to open their boxes, screw up the barrels, destroy all the inmates, and possess themselves of the palace, where it is supposed Kasim Alee had already secured many friends. Twelve thousand soldiers had advanced to the foot of the hills,

near Betteea, to support the attack ; and the volunteers were in the fort of Muckwanpoor, the only strong fort between the plain and the capital. They had been treated with great consideration by the garrison, and were to set out at daylight the next morning ; but one of the attendants, who had been let into the secret, got drunk, and in a quarrel with one of the garrison, told him that he should see in a few days who would be master of that garrison. This led to suspicion ; the boxes were broken open, the arms discovered, and the whole of the party, except three or four, were instantly put to death ; the three or four who escaped, gave intelligence to the army at Betteea, and the whole retreated upon Monghir. But for this drunken man, Nepaul had perhaps been Kasim Alee's.*

* Our troops, under Sir David Ochterlony, took the fort of Muckwanpoor in 1815, and might in five days have been before the defenceless capital ; but they were here arrested by the romantic chivalry of the Marquis of Hastings. The country had been virtually conquered ; the prince, by his base treachery towards us, and outrages upon others, had justly forfeited his throne ; but the Governor-general, by perhaps a misplaced lenity, left it to him without any other guarantee for his future good behaviour than the recollection that he had been soundly beaten. Unfortunately he left him at the same time a sufficient quantity of fertile land below the hills, to maintain the same army with which he had fought us, with better knowledge how to employ them, to keep us out on a future occasion. Between the attempt of Kasim Alee and our attack upon Nepaul, the Gorkha masters of the country had, by a long series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours, rendered themselves in their own opinion and in that of their neighbours, the best soldiers of India. They have of course a very natural feeling of hatred against our government, which put a stop to the wild career of conquest, and wrested from their grasp all the property, and all the pretty women from Katmandhoo to Cashmere. To those beautiful regions they were what the invading Huns were in former days to Europe, absolute fiends. Had we even exacted a good road into their country with fortifications at the proper places, it might have checked the hopes of one day resuming the career of conquest that now keeps up the army and military spirit, to threaten us with a renewal of war whenever we are embarrassed on the plains.

Kasim Alee Khan was beaten in several actions by our gallant little band of troops under their able leader, Colonel Adams ; and at last driven to seek shelter with the Nawab, Vizier of Oude, into whose service Sumroo afterwards entered. This chief being in his turn beaten, Samroo went off, and entered the service of the celebrated chief of Rohilkund, Hafiz Rhemut Khan. This he soon quitted from fear of the English. He raised two battalions in 1772, which he soon afterwards increased to four ; and let out always to the highest bidder—first, to the Jât chiefs of Deeg ; then to the chief of Jeypoor ; then to Nujuf Khan, the prime minister ; and then to the Maharattas. His battalions were officered by Europeans, but Europeans of respectability were unwilling to take service under a man so precariously situated, however great their necessities ; and he was obliged to content himself for the most part with the very dross of society—men who could neither read nor write, nor keep themselves sober. The consequence was, that the battalions were often in a state of mutiny, committing every kind of outrage upon the persons of their officers ; and at all times in a state of insubordination bordering on mutiny. These battalions seldom obtained their pay till they put their commandant into confinement, and made him dig up his hidden stores if he had any, or borrow from bankers if he had none. If the troops felt pressed for time, and their commander was of the necessary character, they put him astride upon a hot gun without his trowsers. When one battalion had got its pay out of him in this manner, he was often handed over to another for the same purpose. The poor old Begum had been often subjected to the starving stage of this proceeding before she came under our protection ; but had never, I believe, been *grilled* upon a gun ! It was a rule, it is said, with Sombre, to enter the field of battle in column at the *safest point* ; form line facing the enemy, fire a few rounds in the direction where they stood, without regard to the distance or effect ; form square, and *await the course of events*.

If victory declared for the enemy, he sold his unbroken force to him to great advantage ; if for his friends, he assisted them in collecting the plunder, and securing all the advantages of the victory. To this *prudent* plan of action, his crops always afterwards steadily adhered ; and they never took or lost a gun till they came in contact with our forces at Adjunttee and Assye.

Sombre died at Agra, on the 4th May, 1778, and his remains were at first buried in his garden. They were afterwards removed to consecrated ground, in the Agra churchyard by his widow, the Begum, who was baptized, at the age of forty, by a Roman Catholic priest, under the name of Joanna, on the 7th of May, 1781. On the death of her husband, she was requested to take command of the force by all the Europeans and natives that composed it, as the only possible mode of keeping them together, since the son was known to be altogether unfit. She consented, and was regularly installed in the charge by the Emperor Shah Alum. Her chief officer was a Mr. Pauly, a German, who soon after took an active part in providing the poor imbecile old Emperor with a prime minister ; and got himself assassinated on the restoration, a few weeks after, of his rival. The troops continued in the same state of insubordination ; and the Begum was anxious for an opportunity to show that she was determined to be obeyed.

☞ While she was encamped with the army of the prime minister of the time at Muttra, news was one day brought to her, that two slave girls had set fire to her houses at Agra, in order that they might make off with their paramours, two soldiers of the guard she had left in charge. These houses had thatched roofs, and contained all her valuables, and the widows, wives, and children of her principal officers. The fire had been put out with much difficulty, and great loss of property ; and the two slave girls were soon after discovered in the bazaar at Agra, and brought out to the Begum's camp. She had the affair investigated in the usual

summary form ; and their guilt being proved to the satisfaction of all present, she had them flogged till they were senseless, and then thrown into a pit dug in front of her tent for the purpose, and buried alive. I had heard this story related in different ways, and I now took pains to ascertain the truth ; and this short narration may, I believe, be relied upon. An old Persian merchant, called the Aga, still resided at Sirdhana, to whom I knew that one of the slave girls belonged. I visited him, and he told me, that his father had been on intimate terms with Sombre, and when he died his mother went to live with his widow, the Begum—that his slave girl was one of the two—that his mother at first protested against her being taken off to the camp, but became, on inquiry, satisfied of her guilt—and that the Begum's object was to make a strong impression upon the turbulent spirit of her troops by a severe example. " In this object," said the old Aga, " she entirely succeeded ; and for some years after her orders were implicitly obeyed ; had she faltered on that occasion, she must have lost the command—she would have lost that respect, without which it would have been impossible for her to retain it a month. I was then a boy ; but I remember well, that there were, besides my mother and sisters, many respectable females that would have rather perished in the flames than come out to expose themselves to the crowd that assembled to see the fires ; and had the fires not been put out, a great many lives must have been lost—besides, there were many old people and young children who could not have escaped." The old Aga was going off to take up his quarters at Delhi when this conversation took place ; and I am sure, that he told me what he thought to be true. This narrative corresponded exactly with that of several other old men from whom I had heard the story. It should be recollected, that among natives, there is no particular mode of execution prescribed for those who are condemned to die : nor, in a camp like this, any court of justice save that of the commander,

in which they could be tried, and, supposing the guilt to have been established, as it is said to have been to the satisfaction of the Begum and the principal officers, who were all Europeans and Christians, perhaps the punishment was not much greater than the crime deserved, and the occasion demanded. But it is possible, that the slave girls may not have set fire to the buildings, but merely availed themselves of the occasion of the fire, to run off; indeed, slave girls are under so little restraint in India, that it would be hardly worth while for them to burn down a house to get out. I am satisfied, that the Begum believed them guilty; and that the punishment, horrible as it was, was merited. It certainly had the desired effect. My object has been to ascertain the truth in this case, and to state it, and not to eulogise or defend the old Begum.

After Pauly's death, the command of the troops under the Begum, devolved successively upon Badurs, Evans, Dudrener, who, after a short time, all gave it up in disgust at the beastly habits of the European subalterns; and the overbearing insolence to which they and the want of regular pay gave rise among the soldiers. At last the command devolved upon Monsieur Le Vassoult, a French gentleman of birth, education, gentlemanly deportment, and honourable feelings. The battalions had been increased to six, with their due proportion of guns and cavalry; part resided at Sirdhana, her capital, and part at Delhi, in attendance upon the Emperor. A very extraordinary man entered her service about the same time with Le Vassoult, George Thomas, who, from a quartermaster on board a ship, raised himself to a principality in northern India. Thomas on one occasion raised his mistress in the esteem of the Emperor and the people by breaking through the old rule of central squares; gallantly leading on his troops, and rescuing his majesty from a perilous situation in one of his battles with a rebellious subject, Nujuf Coolee Khan, where the Begum was present in her palankeen, and reaped all the laurels, being from that

day called "the most beloved daughter of the Emperor." As his best chance of securing his ascendancy against such a rival, Le Vassoult proposed marriage to the Begum, and was accepted. She was married to Le Vassoult by father Gregorio, a Carmelite monk, in 1793, before Salour and Bernier, two French officers of great merit. George Thomas left her service in consequence, in 1793, and set up for himself; and was afterwards crushed by the united armies of the Seikhs and Mahrattas, commanded by European officers, after he had been recognised as a general officer by the Governor-general of India. George Thomas had latterly twelve small disciplined battalions officered by Europeans. He had good artillery, cast his own guns, and was the first person that applied iron calibres to brass cannon. He was unquestionably a man of very extraordinary military genius, and his ferocity and recklessness as to the means he used, were quite in keeping with the times. His revenues were derived from the Sikh states, which he had rendered tributary; and he would probably soon have been sovereign of them all in the room of Ranjeet Sing, had not the jealousy of Peron and other French officers in the Mahratta army interposed.

The Begum tried in vain to persuade her husband to receive all the European officers of the corps at his table as gentlemen, urging that not only their domestic peace, but their safety among such a turbulent set, required that the character of these officers should be raised if possible, and their feelings conciliated. Nothing, he declared, should ever induce him to sit at table with men of such habits; and they at last determined, that no man should command them who would not condescend to do so. Their insolence, and that of the soldiers generally, became at last unbearable; and the Begum determined to go off with her husband, and seek an asylum in the honourable Company's territory with the little property she could command, of one hundred thousand rupees in money, and her jewels, amounting perhaps in value to one hundred thousand more. Le Vassoult did not under-

stand English ; but with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary he was able to communicate her wishes to Colonel M'Gowan, who commanded at the time, 1795, an advanced post of our army at Anoopshehur, on the Ganges. He proposed that the colonel should receive them in his cantonments, and assist them in their journey thence to Furuckabad, where they wished in future to reside, free from the cares and anxieties of such a charge. The colonel had some scruples, under the impression, that he might be censured for aiding in the flight of a public officer of the Emperor. He now addressed the Governor-general of India, Sir John Shore himself, April, 1795, who requested Major Palmer, our accredited agent with Scindeea, who was then encamped near Delhi, and holding the seals of prime minister of the empire, to interpose his good offices in favour of the Begum and her husband. Scindeea demanded twelve lacks of rupees as the price of the privilege she solicited to retire ; and the Begum, in her turn, demanded over and above the privilege of resigning the command into his hands, the sum of four lacks of rupees as the price of the arms and accoutrements which had been provided at her own cost and that of her late husband. It was at last settled, that she should resign the command, and set out secretly with her husband ; and that Scindeea should confer the command of her troops upon one of his own officers, who would pay the son of Sombre two thousand rupees a month for life. Le Vassoigt was to be received into our territories, treated as a prisoner of war upon his parole, and permitted to reside with his wife at the French settlement of Chandernagore. His last letter to Sir John Shore is dated the 30th April, 1795. His last letters describing this final arrangement are addressed to Mr. Even, a French merchant at Mirzapore, and a Mr. Bernier, both personal friends of his, and are dated 18th of May, 1795.

The battalions on duty at Delhi got intimation of this correspondence, made the son of Sombre declare himself their legitimate

chief, and march at their head to seize the Begum and her husband, Le Vassoult heard of their approach, and urged the Begum to set out with him at midnight for Anoopshéhur, declaring, that he would rather destroy himself than submit to the personal indignities which he knew would be heaped upon him by the infuriated ruffians who were coming to seize them. The Begum consented, declaring, that she would put an end to her life with her own hand should she be taken. She got into her palankeen with a dagger in her hand, and as he had seen her determined resolution and proud spirit before exerted on many trying occasions, he doubted not that she would do what she declared she would. He mounted his horse and rode by the side of her palankeen, with a pair of pistols in his holsters, and a good sword by his side. They had got on so far as Kehree, about three miles from Sirdhana, on the road to Meerut, when they found the battalions from Sirdhana who had got intimation of the flight, gaining fast upon the palankeen. Le Vassoult asked the Begum, whether she remained firm in her resolve to die rather than submit to the indignities that threatened them. "Yes," replied she, showing him the dagger firmly grasped in her right hand. He drew a pistol from his holster without saying anything, but urged on the bearers. He could have easily galloped off and saved himself, but he would not quit his wife's side. At last, the soldiers came up close behind them. The female attendants of the Begum began to scream; and looking in, Le Vassoult saw the white cloth that covered the Begum's breast stained with blood. She had stabbed herself, but the dagger had struck against one of the bones of her chest, and she had not courage to repeat the blow. Her husband put his pistol to his temple, and fired. The ball passed through his head, and he fell dead on the ground. One of the soldiers who saw him, told me, that he sprang at least a foot off the saddle into the air as the shot struck him! His body was treated with every kind of insult, by the European officers and their men; and

the Begum was taken back into Sirdhana, kept under a gun for seven days, deprived of all kinds of food, save what she got by stealth from her female servants, and subjected to all manner of insolent language.

At last the officers were advised by George Thomas, who had instigated them to this violence out of pique against the Begum, for her preference of the Frenchman, to set aside their puppet, and reseat the Begum in the command, as the only chance of keeping the territory of Sirdhana. "If," said he, the Begum should die under the torture of mind and body to which you are subjecting her, the minister will very soon resume the lands assigned for your payment; and disband a force so disorderly, and so little likely to be of any use to him or the Emperor." A counsel of war was held—the Begum was taken out from under the gun, and resealed upon her musnud. A paper was drawn up by about thirty European officers, of whom only one, Monsieur Salcur, could sign his own name, swearing, in the name of God and Jesus Christ,* that they would henceforward obey her with all their hearts and souls, and recognise no other person whomsoever as commander. They all affixed their seals to this *covenant*; but some of them, to show their superior learning, put their initials, or what they used as such, for some of these *learned Thebans* knew only two or three letters of the alphabet, which they put down, though they happened not to be their real initials. An officer on the part of Scindeea, who was to have commanded these troops, was present at this reinstallation of the Begum, and glad

* The paper was written by a Mahomedan, and he would not write Christ the Son of God—it is written—"In the name of God, and His Majesty Christ." The Mahomedans look upon Christ as the greatest of prophets before Mahomed; but the most binding article of their faith is this from the koran, which they repeat every day: "I believe the God who was never begot, nor has ever begotten, nor will ever have an equal," alluding to the Christian belief in the Trinity.

to take, as a compensation for his disappointment, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, which the Begum contrived to borrow for him.

The body of poor Le Vassoult was brought back to camp, and there lay several days unburied, and exposed to all kinds of indignities. The supposition that this was the result of a plan formed by the Begum to get rid of Le Vassoult is, I believe, unfounded. The Begum herself gave some colour of truth to the report, by retaining the name of her first husband, Sombre, to the last, and never publicly or formally declaring her marriage with Le Vassoult after his death. The troops in this mutiny pretended nothing more than a desire to vindicate the honour of their old commander Sombre, which had, they said, been compromised by the illicit intercourse between Le Vassoult and his widow. She had not dared to declare the marriage to them lest they should mutiny on that ground, and deprive her of the command; and for the same reason she retained the name of Sombre after her restoration, and remained silent on the subject of her second marriage. The marriage was known only to a few European officers, Sir John Shore, Major Palmer, and the other gentlemen with whom Le Vassoult corresponded. Some grave old native gentlemen, who were long in her service, have told me that they believed "there really was too much of truth in the story which excited the troops to mutiny on that occasion, her too great intimacy with the gallant young Frenchman. God forgive them for saying so of a lady whose salt they had eaten for so many years." Le Vassoult made no mention of the marriage to Colonel McGowan; and from the manner in which he mentions it to Sir John Shore, it is clear that he or she, or both, were anxious to conceal it from the troops and from the Scindees before their departure. She stipulated in her will, that her heir, Mr. Dyce, should take the name of Sombre, as if she wished to have the little episode of her second marriage forgotten.

After the death of Le Vassoult, the command devolved on Monsieur Salcur, a Frenchman, the only respectable officer who signed the covenant : he had taken no active part in the mutiny ; on the contrary, he had done all he could to prevent it ; and he was at last, with George Thomas, the chief means of bringing his brother officers back to a sense of their duty. Another battalion was added to the four in 1797, and another raised in 1798 and in 1802 ; five of the six marched under Colonel Salcur to the Deccan with Scindees. They were in a state of mutiny the whole way, and utterly useless as auxiliaries, as Salcur himself declared in many of his letters written in French, to his mistress the Begum. At the battle of Assye, four of these battalions were left in charge of the Mabratta camps. One was present in the action, and lost its four guns. Soon after the return of these battalions, the Begum entered into an alliance with the British government ; the force then consisted of these six battalions, a party of artillery served chiefly by Europeans, and two hundred horse. She had a good arsenal well stored, and a foundry for cannon, both within the walls of a small fortress, built near her dwelling at Sirdhana. The whole cost her about four lacks of rupees a year ; her civil establishments eighty thousand, her pensioners sixty, and her household establishments and expenses about the same ; total, six lacks of rupees a year. The revenues of Sirdhana, and the other lands assigned at different times for the payment of this force, had been at no time more than sufficient to cover these expenses ; but under the protection of our government they improved with the extension of tillage, and the improvements of the surrounding markets for produce, and she was enabled to give largely to the support of religious and charitable institutions, and to provide handsomely for the support of her family and pensioners after her death.

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• Sombre's son, Zuffer Yabkhan, had a daughter who was married to Colonel Dyce, who had for some time the management

of the Begum's affairs ; but he lost her favour long before her death, by his violent temper and overbearing manners, and was obliged to resign the management to his son, who, on the Begum's death, came in for the bulk of her fortune, or about sixty lacks of rupees. He has two sisters who were brought up by the Begum, one married to Captain Troup, an Englishman, and the other to Mr. Sobroli, an Italian, both very worthy men. Their wives have been handsomely provided for by the Begum and by their brother who trebled the fortunes left to them by the Begum. She built an excellent church at Sirdhana, and assigned the sum of one hundred thousand rupees as a fund to provide for its service and repairs ; fifty thousand rupees as another for the poor of the place ; and one hundred thousand as a third, for a college in which Roman Catholic priests might be educated for the benefit of India generally. She sent to Rome one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, to be employed as a charity fund, at the discretion of the Pope ; and to the Archbishop of Canterbury she sent fifty thousand for the same purpose. She gave to the Bishop of Calcutta one hundred thousand rupees to provide teachers for the poor of the Protestant church in Calcutta. She sent to Calcutta for distribution to the poor, and for the liberation of deserving debtors, fifty thousand. To the Catholic missions at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, she gave one hundred thousand ; and to that of Agra thirty thousand. She built a handsome chapel for the Roman Catholics at Meerut ; and presented the fund for its support, with a donation of twelve thousand : and she built a chapel for the church missionary at Meerut, the Reverend Mr. Richards, at a cost of ten thousand, to meet the wants of the native Protestants.

Among all who had opportunities of knowing her, she bore the character of a kind-hearted, benevolent, and good woman ; and I have conversed with men capable of judging, who had known her for more than fifty years. She had uncommon

sagacity, and a masculine resolution ; and the Europeans and natives who were most intimate with her, have told me, that though a woman and of small stature, her *Rooab* (dignity, or power of commanding personal respect) was greater than that of almost any person they had ever seen. From the time she put herself under the protection of the British government, in 1803, she by degrees adopted the European modes of social intercourse, appearing in public on an elephant, in a carriage, and occasionally on horseback with her hat and veil ; and dining at table with gentlemen. She often entertained governors-general and commanders-in-chief, with all their retinues, and sat with them and their staff at table, and for some years past kept an open house for the society of Meerut ; but in no situation did she lose sight of her dignity. She retained to the last the grateful affections of the thousands who were supported by her bounty, while she never ceased to inspire the most profound respect in the minds of those who every day approached her, and were on the most unreserved terms of intimacy.

Lord William Bentinck was an excellent judge of character ; and the following letter will show how deeply his visit to that part of the country had impressed him with a sense of her extensive usefulness.

TO HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM SUMROO.

My esteemed Friend,—I cannot leave India without expressing the sincere esteem I entertain for your highness's character. The benevolence of disposition and extensive charity which have endeared you to thousands, have excited in my mind sentiments of the warmest admiration ; and I trust that you may yet be preserved for many years, the solace of the orphan and widow, and the sure resource of your numerous dependants. To-morrow

morning I embark for England ; and my prayers and best wishes attend you, and all others who, like you, exert themselves for the benefit of the people of India.

I remain,

With much consideration,

Your sincere Friend,

(Signed)

M. W. BENTINCK.

Calcutta, March, 17th 1835.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON THE SPIRIT OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN THE
NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA.

ABOLITION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT—INCREASE OF PAY WITH LENGTH
OF SERVICE—PROMOTION BY SENIORITY.

THE following observations, on a very important and interesting subject, were not intended to form a portion of the present work.

They serve to illustrate, however, many passages in the foregoing chapters, touching the character of the natives of India; and the Affghan war having occurred since they were written, I cannot deny myself the gratification of presenting them to the public, since the courage and fidelity, which it was my object to show the British government had a right to expect from its native troops, and might always rely upon in the hour of need, have been so nobly displayed.

I had one morning (November 14th, 1838) a visit from the senior native officer of my regiment, Seikh Mahobulce, a very fine old gentleman, who had recently attained the rank of "*Sirdar Bahadour*," and been invested with the new "*Order of British India*." He entered the service at the age of fifteen, and had served fifty-three years with great credit to himself, and fought in many an honourable field. He had come over to Jubbulpore as president of a native general court-martial; and paid me several visits, in company with another old officer of my regiment, who was a member of the same court. The following is one of the many conversations I had with him, taken down as soon as he left me.

“What do you think, Sirdar Bahadoor, of the order prohibiting corporal punishment in the army; has it had a bad or good effect?”

“It has had a very good effect.”

“What good has it produced?”

“It has reduced the number of courts-martial to one quarter of what they were before, and thereby lightened the duties of the officers; it has made the good men more careful, and the bad men more orderly, than they used to be.”

“How has it produced this effect?”

“A bad man formerly went on recklessly from small offences to great ones, in the hope of impunity; he knew that no regimental, cantonment, or brigade court-martial could sentence him to be dismissed the service; and that they would not sentence him to be flogged, except for great crimes, because it involved, at the same time, dismissal from the service. If they sentenced him to be flogged, he still hoped that the punishment would be remitted. The general or officer confirming the sentence, was generally unwilling to order it to be carried into effect, because the man must, after being flogged, be turned out of our service, and the marks of the lash upon his back would prevent his getting service anywhere else. Now he knows that these courts can sentence him to be dismissed from the service—that he is liable to lose his bread for ordinary transgressions; and be sentenced to work on the roads in irons for graver ones. He is, in consequence, much more under restraint than he used to be.”

“And how has it tended to make the well-disposed more careful?”

“They were formerly liable to be led into errors by the example of the bad men, under the same hope of impunity; but they are now more on their guard. They have all relations among the native officers, who are continually impressing upon them the necessity of being on their guard, lest they be sent back upon their

families—their mothers and fathers, wives and children—as beggars. To be dismissed from a service like that of the Company is a very great punishment; it subjects a man to the odium and indignation of all his family. When in the Company's service his friends know that a soldier gets his pay regularly, and can afford to send home a very large portion of it. They expect that he will do so; he feels that they will listen to no excuse and he contracts habits of sobriety and prudence. If a man gets into the service of a native chief, his friends know that his pay is precarious; and they continue to maintain his family for many years without receiving a remittance from him, in the hope that his circumstances may some day improve. He contracts bad habits, and is not ashamed to make his appearance among them, knowing that his excuses will be received as valid. If one of the Company's sipahees were not to send home remittances for six months, some members of the family would be sent to know the reason why. If he could not explain, they would appeal to the native officers of the regiment, who would expostulate with him; and if all failed, his wife and children would be turned out of his father's house, unless they knew that he was gone to the wars; and he would be ashamed ever to show his face among them again."

"And the gradual increase of pay, with length of service, has tended to increase the value of the service, has it not?"

"It has, very much: there are in our regiment, out of eight hundred men, more than one hundred and fifty sipahees who get the increase of two rupees a month, and the same number that get the increase of one. This they feel as an immense addition to the former seven rupees a month. A prudent sipahee lives upon two, or at the utmost three rupees a month, in seasons of moderate plenty; and sends all the rest to his family. A great number of the sipahees of our regiment live upon the increase of two rupees, and send all their former seven to their families. The dismissal of a man from such a service as this, distresses not only him, but

all his relations in the higher grades, who know how much of the comfort and happiness of his family depend upon his remaining and advancing in it ; and they all try to make their young friends behave as they ought to do."

"Do you think that a great portion of the native officers of the army have the same feelings and opinions on the subject as you have?"

"They have all the same ; there is not, I believe, one in a hundred that does not think as I do upon the subject. Flogging was an odious thing. A man was disgraced, not only before his regiment, but before the crowd that assembled to witness the punishment. Had he been suffered to remain in the regiment, he could never have hoped to rise after having been flogged, or sentenced to be flogged ; his hopes were all destroyed, and his spirit broken ; and the order directing him to be dismissed was good ; but, as I have said, he lost all hope of getting into any other service, and dared not show his face among his family at home."

"You know who ordered the abolition of flogging?"

"Lord Bentinck.

* General orders by the Commander-in-chief, of the 5th of January, 1797, declare that no sipahee or trooper of our native army shall be dismissed from the service by the sentence of any but a general court-martial. General orders by the Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, of the 19th of March, 1827, declare that his excellency is of opinion that the quiet and orderly habits of the native soldiers are such, that it can very seldom be necessary to have recourse to the punishment of flogging, which might be almost entirely abolished, with great advantage to their character and feelings ; and directs that no native soldier shall in future be sentenced to corporal punishment unless for the crime of *stealing, marauding, or gross insubordination*, where the individuals are deemed unworthy to continue in the ranks of the army. No such sentence by a regimental, detachment, or brigade court-martial was to be carried into effect till confirmed by the general officer commanding the division. When flogged the soldier was invariably to be discharged from the service.

“ And you know that it was at his recommendation the honourable Company gave the increase of pay, with length of service ?

A circular letter from the Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, of the 16th of June, 1827, directs, that sentence to corporal punishment is not to be restricted to the three crimes of *theft, marauding, and gross insubordination*; but that it is not to be awarded, except for very serious offence against discipline, or actions of a disgraceful or infamous nature, which show those who committed them to be unfit for the service; that the officer who assembles the court may remit the sentence of corporal punishment, and the dismissal involved in it; but cannot carry it into effect till confirmed by the officer commanding the division, except when an immediate example is indispensably necessary, as in the case of plundering and violence on the part of soldiers in the line of march. In all cases the soldier who has been flogged must be dismissed.

A circular letter by the Commander-in-chief, Sir E. Barnes, 2nd of November, 1832, dispenses with the duty of submitting the sentence of regimental, detachment, and brigade court-martial for confirmation to the general officer commanding the division; and authorises the officer who assembles the court, to carry the sentence into effect without reference to higher authority; and to mitigate the punishment awarded, or remit it altogether; and to order the dismissal of the soldier who has been sentenced to corporal punishment, though he should remit the flogging, “for it may happen, that a soldier may be found guilty of an offence which renders it improper that he should remain any longer in the service, although the general conduct of the men has been such, that an example is unnecessary; or he may have relations in the regiment of excellent character, upon whom some part of the disgrace would fall if he were flogged.” Still no court-martial but a general one could sentence a soldier to be simply dismissed! To secure his dismissal, they must first sentence him to be flogged!

On the 24th of February, 1835, the Governor-general of India in council, Lord William Bentinck, directed “ that the practice of punishing soldiers of the native army by the cut-o-nine-tails, or rattan, be discontinued at all the presidencies; and that henceforth it shall be competent to any regimental, detachment, or brigade court-martial, to sentence a soldier of the native army to dismissal from the service for any offence for which such soldier might now be punished by flogging, provided such sentence of dismissal shall not be carried into effect unless confirmed by the general or other officer commanding the division.”

For crimes involving higher penalties, soldiers were, as heretofore, committed for trial before general courts-martial.

"We have heard so; and we feel towards him as we felt towards Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Lake."

"Do you think the army would serve again now with the same spirit as they served under Lord Lake?"

"The army would go to any part of the world to serve such masters—no army had ever masters that cared for them like ours. We never asked to have flogging abolished; nor did we ever ask to have an increase of pay with length of service; and yet both have been done for us by the Company Bahadoor!"

The old Sirdar Bahadoor came again to visit me on the 1st of December, with all the native officers who had come over from Saugor to attend the court, seven in number. There were three very smart, sensible men among them; one of whom had been as a volunteer at the capture of Java, and the other at that of the Isle of France. They all told me that they considered the abolition of corporal punishment a great blessing to the native army. "Some bad men who had already lost their character; and, consequently, all hope of promotion, might be in less dread than before; but they were very few; and their regiments would soon get rid of them under the new law, that gave the power of dismissal to regimental courts-martial."

"But I find the European officers are almost all of opinion that the abolition of flogging has been, or will be, attended with bad consequences?"

"They, sir, apprehend that there will not be sufficient restraint upon the loose characters of the regiment; but now that the sipahees have got an increase of pay in proportion to length of service, there will be no danger of that. Where can they ever hope to get such another service, if they forfeit that of the Company? If the dread of losing such a service is not sufficient to keep the bad in order, that of being put to work upon the roads in irons will. The good can always be kept in order by lighter punishments, when they have so much at stake, as the loss

of such a service by frequent offences. Some gentlemen think that a soldier does not feel disgraced by being flogged, unless the offence for which he has been flogged is in itself disgraceful. There is no soldier, sir, that does not feel disgraced by being tied up to the halberts, and flogged in the face of all his comrades, and the crowd that may choose to come and look at him : the Sipahes are all of the same respectable families as ourselves ; and they all enter the service in the hope of rising in time to the same stations as ourselves, if they conduct themselves well—their families look forward with the same hope. A man who has been tied up and flogged knows the disgrace that it will bring upon his family, and will sometimes rather die than return to it ; indeed, as head of a family, he could not be received at home.* But men do not feel disgraced in being flogged with a rattan at drill. While at the drill they consider themselves, and are considered by us all, as in the relation of *scholars* to their *schoolmasters*. Doing away with the rattan at the drill had a very bad effect ! Young men were formerly, with the judicious use of the rattan, made fit to join the regiment at furthest in six months ; but since the abolition of the rattan it takes twelve months to make them fit to be seen in the ranks. There was much virtue in the rattan ; and it should never have been given up. We have all been flogged with the rattan at the drill, and never felt ourselves disgraced by it—we were *shagirds*, (scholars) and the drill serjeant, who had

* The funeral obsequies which are everywhere offered up to the manes of parents by the surviving head of the family during the first fifteen days of the month of *Koonar*, (September), were never considered as acceptable from the hands of a soldier in our service who had been tied up and flogged, whatever might have been the nature of the offence for which he was punished ; any head of a family so flogged lost, by that punishment, the most important of his civil rights—that indeed upon which all the others hinged, for it is by presiding at the funeral ceremonies that the head of the family secures and maintains his recognition.

the rattan, was our *oustad*, (schoolmaster;) but when we left the drill, and took our station in the ranks as Sipahes, the case was altered, and we should have felt disgraced by a flogging, whatever might have been the nature of the offence we committed. The drill will never get on so well as it used to do, unless the rattan be called into use again; but we apprehend no evil from the abolition of corporal punishment afterwards. People are apt to attribute to this abolition offences that have nothing to do with it; and for which ample punishments are still provided. If a man fires at his officer, people are apt to say, it is because flogging has been done away with; but a man who deliberately fires at his officer, is prepared to undergo worse punishments than flogging!"

"Do you not think that the increase of pay with length of service to the Sipahes, will have a good effect in tending to give to regiments more active and intelligent native officers? Old Sipahes who are not so, will now have less cause to complain if passed over, will they not?"

"If the Sipahes thought that the increase of pay was given with this view, they would rather not have it at all. To pass over men merely because they happen to have grown old, we consider very cruel and unjust. They all enter the service young, and go on doing their duty till they become old, in the hope that they shall get promotion when it comes to their turn. If they are de-

* The worst features of this abolition measure is unquestionably the odious distinction which it leaves in the punishments to which our European and our native soldiers are liable, since the British legislature does not consider that it can be safely abolished in the British army. This odious distinction might be easily removed by an enactment, declaring that European soldiers in India should be liable to corporal punishment for only two offences;—1st mutiny or gross insubordination; 2nd, plunder or violence while the regiment or force to which the prisoner belongs is in the field or marching. The same enactment might declare the soldiers of our native army liable to the same punishments for the same offences. Such an enactment would excite no discontent among our native soldiery; on the contrary, it would be applauded as just and proper.

appointed, and young men, or greater favourites with their European officers, are put over their heads, they become heart-broken ! We all feel for them, and are always sorry to see an old soldier passed over, unless he has been guilty of any manifest crime, or neglect of duty. He has always some relations among the native officers, who know his family, for we all try to get our relations into the same regiment with ourselves, when they are eligible. They know what that family will suffer, when they learn that he has no longer any hopes of rising in the service, and has become miserable. Supercessions create distress and bad feelings throughout a regiment, even when the best men are promoted, which cannot always be the case ; for the greatest favourites are not always the best men. Many of our old European officers, like yourself, are absent on staff or civil employments ; and the command of companies often devolves upon very young subalterns, who know little or nothing of the character of their men. They recommend those whom they have found most active and intelligent, and believe to be the best ; but their opportunities of learning the characters of the men have been few. They have seen and observed the young, active, and forward ; but they often know nothing of the steady, unobtrusive old soldier, who has done his duty ably in all situations, without placing himself prominently forward in any. The commanding officers seldom remain long with the same regiment ; and, consequently, seldom know enough of the men to be able to judge of the justice of the selections for promotion. Where a man has been guilty of a crime, or neglected his duty, we feel no sympathy for him, and are not ashamed to tell him so, and put him down (*kaellur-hin*) when he complains."

Here the old Soobadar, who had been at the taking of the Isle of France, mentioned, that when he was the senior Jemadar of his regiment, and a vacancy had occurred to bring him in as Soobadar, he was sent for by his commanding officer, and told, that by orders from head-quarters he was to be passed over, on account

of his advanced age, and supposed infirmity. "I felt," said the old man, "as if I had been struck by lightning; and fell down dead! The colonel was a good man, and had seen much service. He had me taken into the open air; and when I recovered, he told me that he would write to the Commander-in-chief, and represent my case. He did so immediately, and I was promoted; and I have since done my duty as Soobadar for ten years."

The Sirdar Bahadoor told me, that only two men in our regiment had been that year superseded, one for *insolence*, and the other for neglect of duty; and that officers and sipahees were all happy in consequence—the young, because they felt more secure of being promoted if they did their duty; and the old, because they felt an interest in the welfare of their young relations. "In those regiments," said he, "where supercessions have been more numerous, old and young are dispirited, and unhappy. They all feel that the *good old rule of right*, (*huk*), as long as a man does his duty well, can no longer be relied upon."

When two companies of my regiment passed through Jubburpore, a few days after this conversation, on their way from Saugor to Seonee, I rode out a mile or two to meet them. They had not seen me for sixteen years; but almost all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers were personally known to me. They were all very glad to see me, and I rode along with them to their place of encampment, where I had ready a feast of sweetmeats. They liked me as a young man, and are, I believe, proud of me as an old one. Old and young spoke, with evident delight of the rigid adherence, on the part of the present commanding officer, Colonel Presgrave, to the good old rule of *huk* (right) in the recent promotions to the vacancies occasioned by the annual transfer to the invalid establishment. We might, no doubt, have in every regiment a few smarter native officers by disregarding this rule, than by adhering to it; but we should, in the diminution of the good feeling towards the European officers and the

government, lose a thousand times more than we gained. They now go on from youth to old age, from the drill to the retired pension, happy and satisfied that there is no service on earth so good for them. With admirable *moral*, but little or no *literary* education, the native officers of our regiments never dream of aspiring to anything more than is now held out to them, and the mass of the soldiers are inspired with devotion to the service, and every feeling with which we could wish to have them inspired, by the hope of becoming officers in time, if they discharge their duties faithfully and zealously. Deprive the mass of this hope, give the commissions to an *exclusive class* of natives, or to a favoured few, chosen often, if not commonly, without reference to the feelings or qualifications we most want in our native officers, and our native army will soon cease to have the same feelings of devotion towards the government, and of attachment and respect towards their European officers, that they now have. The young, ambitious, and aspiring native officers will soon try to teach the great mass, that their interest and that of the European officers and European government are by no means one and the same, as they have been hitherto led to suppose; and it is upon the good feeling of this great mass that we have to depend for support. To secure this good feeling, we can well afford to sacrifice a little efficiency at the drill. It was unwise in one of our commanders-in-chief to direct, that no soldier in our Bengal native regiments should be promoted unless he could read and write—it was to prohibit the promotion of the best, and direct the promotion of the worst soldiers in the ranks. In India a military officer is rated as a gentleman by his birth, that is, *caste*, and by his deportment in all his relations of life—not by his *knowledge of books*.

• The Rajpoot, the Brahman, and the proud Pythan who attains a commission, and deports himself like an officer, never thinks himself, or is thought by others, deficient in anything that

constitutes the gentleman, because he happens not to be at the same time a clerk. He has from his childhood been taught to consider the quill and the sword as two distinct professions—both useful and honourable when honourably pursued,—and having chosen the sword, he thinks he does quite enough in learning how to use and support it through all grades, and ought not to be expected to encroach on the profession of the penman. This is a tone of feeling which it is clearly the interest of government rather to foster than discourage; and the order which militated so much against it, has happily been either rescinded or disregarded.

Three-fourths of the recruits for our Bengal native infantry are drawn from the Rajpoot peasantry of the kingdom of Oude, on the left bank of the Ganges, where their affections have been linked to the soil for a long series of generations. The good feelings of the families from which they are drawn, continue, through the whole period of their service, to exercise a salutary influence over their conduct as men and as soldiers. Though they never take their families with them, they visit them on furlough every two or three years, and always return to them when the surgeon considers a change of air necessary to their recovery from sickness. Their family circles are always present to their imaginations; and the recollections of their last visit, the hopes of the next, and the assurance, that their conduct as men and as soldiers in the interval will be reported to those circles by their many comrades, who are annually returning on furlough to the same parts of the country, tend to produce a general and uniform propriety of conduct, that is hardly to be found among the soldiers of any other army in the world, and which seems incomprehensible to those who are unacquainted with its source,—veneration for parents cherished through life, and a never impaired love of home, and of all the dear objects by which it is constituted.

Our Indian native army is perhaps the only *entirely* voluntary

standing army that has been ever known, and it is, to all interest and purposes, *entirely* voluntary, and as such must be treated. We can have no other native army in India, and without such an army we could not maintain our dominion a day. Our best officers have always understood this quite well; and they have never tried to flog and harass men out of all that we find good in them for our purposes. Any regiment in our service might lay down their arms and disperse to-morrow, without our having a chance of apprehending one deserter among them all.

When Frederick the Great, of Prussia, reviewed his army of sixty thousand men in Pomerania, previous to his invasion of Silesia, he asked the old Prince d'Anhalt, who accompanied him, what he most admired in the scene before him?

"Sire," replied the prince, "I admire at once the fine appearance of the men, and the regularity and perfection of their movements and evolutions."

"For my part," said Frederick, "this is not what excites my astonishment, since with the advantage of money, time, and care, these are easily attained. It is that you and I, my dear cousin, should be in the midst of such an army as this in perfect safety! Here are sixty thousand men who are all *irreconcilable enemies to both you and myself*; not one among them that is not a man of more strength, and better armed than either, yet they all tremble at our presence, while it would be folly on our part to tremble at theirs—such is the wonderful effect of order, vigilance, and subordination!"

But a reasonable man might ask, what were the circumstances which enabled Frederick to keep in a state of order and subordination an army composed of soldiers, who were "*irreconcilable enemies*" of their Prince and of their officers? He could have told the Prince d'Anhalt, had he chosen to do so; for Frederick was a man who thought deeply. The chief circumstance favourable to his ambition was the utter imbecility of the old

French government, then in its dotage, and unable to see, that an army of involuntary soldiers was no longer compatible with the state of the nation. This government had reduced its soldiers to a condition worse than that of the common labourers upon the roads, while it deprived them of all hope of rising, and all feeling of pride in the profession.* Desertion became easy from the extension of the French dominion, and from the circumstance of so many belligerent powers around requiring good soldiers; and no odium attended desertion, where everything was done to degrade, and nothing to exalt, the soldiers in his own esteem, and that of society.

Instead of following the course of events, and rendering the condition of the soldier less odious, by increasing his pay and hope of promotion, and diminishing the labour and disgrace to which he was liable, and thereby filling her regiments with voluntary soldiers when involuntary ones could be no longer obtained, the government of France reduced the soldier's pay to one-half the rate of wages which a common labourer got on the roads; and put them under restraints and restrictions, that made them feel every day, and every hour, that they were slaves! To prevent desertions by severe examples under this *high pressure system*, they had recourse first to *slitting the noses and cutting off the ears* of deserters; and, lastly, to shooting them as fast as they could catch them.† But all was in vain; and Frederick of Prussia alone got fifty thousand of the finest soldiers in the world from the French regiments, who composed one-third of his army, and enabled him

* An ordinance, issued in France so late as 1778, required that a man should produce proof of four quarterings of nobility before he could get a commission in the army.

† "Est et alia causa, cur attenuata sint legiones," says Vegetius, "Magnus in illis labor est militandi, graviora arma, sera munera, severior disciplina. Quod Vitantes plerique, in auxiliis festinant militum sacramenta percipere, ubi et minor sudor, et maturiora sunt premia." Lib. ii, cap. 3.

to keep all the rest in that state of discipline that improved so much its efficiency, in the same manner as the deserters from the Roman legions, which took place under similar circumstances, became the flower of the army of Mithridates.*

Frederick was in position and disposition a despot. His territories were small, while his ambition was boundless. He was unable to pay a large army the rate of wages necessary to secure the services of voluntary soldiers; and he availed himself of the happy imbecility of the French government to form an army of involuntary ones. He got French soldiers at a cheap rate, because they dared not return to their native country, whence they were hunted down and shot like dogs, and these soldiers enabled him to retain his own subjects in his ranks upon the same terms. Had the French government retraced its steps, improved the condition of its soldiers, and mitigated the punishment for desertion at any time during the long war, Frederick's army would have fallen to pieces "like the baseless fabric of a vision." "Parmi nous," says Montesquieu, "*les desertions sont frequentes parceque les soldats sont la plus vile partie de chaque nation, et qu'il n'y en a aucune que ait, on qui croie avoir un certain avantage sur les autres. Chez les Romains elles etaient plus rares—des soldats tires du sein*

* Montesquieu thought "that the government had better have stuck to the old practice of *slitting noses* and cutting off ears, since the French soldiers, like the Roman dandies under Pompey, must necessarily have a greater dread of a disfigured face than of death!" It did not occur to him that France could retain her soldiers by other ~~and~~ better motives. See *Spirit of Laws*, book vi. chap. 12. See also Necker on the *Finances*, vol. ii. c. 5; vol. iii. c. 34. A day-labourer on the roads got fifteen sous a day; and a French soldier only six, at the very time that the mortality of an army of forty thousand men sent to the colonies was annually thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three, or about one in three! In our native army the Sipahce gets about double the wages of an ordinary day-labourer; and his duties, when well done, involve just enough of exercise to keep him in health. The casualties are perhaps about one in a hundred.

d'un peuple si fier, si orgueilleux, si sur de commander aux autres, ne pouvaient guère penser à s'avilir jusqu'à cesser d'être Romains"* But was it the poor soldiers who were to blame that they were vile, and had *no advantage over others*, or the government that took them from the vilest classes, or made their condition when they got them worse than that of the lowest class in society? The Romans deserted under the same circumstances, and, as I have stated, formed the elite of the army of Mithridates and the other enemies of Rome; but they respected their military oath of allegiance long after perjury among senators had ceased to excite any odium, since, as a fashionable or political vice, it had become common.

Did not our day of retribution come, though in a milder shape, to teach us a great political and moral lesson, when so many of our brave sailors deserted our ships for those of America in which they fought against us? They deserted from our ships of war because they were there treated like dogs; or from our merchant ships, because they were every hour liable to be seized

* Just precisely what the French soldiers were, after the revolution had purged France of all the "perilous stuff that weighed upon the heart" of its people. Gibbon, in considering the chance of the civilized nations of Europe ever being again overrun by the barbarians from the North, as in the time of the Romans, says—"If a savage conqueror should issue from the deserts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the *robust peasantry* of Russia: the numerous armies of Germany; the *gallant nobles of France*; and the *intrepid free men* of Britain.* Never was a more just, yet more unintended satire upon the state of a country. Russia was to depend upon her *robust peasantry*; Germany upon her *numerous armies*; England upon her *intrepid free men*; but poor France upon her *gallant nobles* alone; because, unhappily, no other part of her vast population was then ever thought of. When the hour of trial came, those pampered nobles, who had no feeling in common with the people, were shaken off "like dew-drops from the lion's mane;" and the hitherto spurned peasantry of France, under the guidance and auspices of men who understood and appreciated them, astonished the world with their prowess.

like felons, and put on board the former. When "England expected every man to do his duty" at Trafalgar, had England done its duty to every man who was that day to fight for her? Is not the intellectual stock which the sailor acquires *in scenes of peril* "upon the high and giddy mast," as much his property as that which others acquire *in scenes of peace* at schools and colleges? And have not our senators, morally and religiously, as much right to authorise their sovereign to seize clergymen, lawyers, and professors for employment in his service, upon the wages of ordinary *uninstructed labour*, as they have to authorise him to seize able sailors to be so employed in her navy? A feeling more base than that which authorised the *able seaman* to be hunted down upon such conditions, torn from his wife and children, and put, like Uriah, in front of those battles upon which our welfare and honour depended, never disgraced any civilised nation with whose history we are acquainted.

Sir Matthew Decker, in a passage quoted by Mr. McCulloch, says, "The custom of impressment puts a freeborn British sailor on the same footing as a Turkish slave. The grand seignior cannot do a more absolute act than to order a man to be dragged away from his family, and against his will run his head against the mouth of a cannon; and if such acts should be frequent in Turkey, upon any one set of useful men, would it not drive them away to other countries, and thin their numbers yearly? And would not the remaining few double or triple their wages, which is the wages, which is case with our sailors in time of war, to the great detriment of our commerce." The Americans wisely relinquished the barbarous and unwise practice of their parent land; and, as McCulloch observes, "While the wages of all other sorts of labourers and artisans are uniformly higher in the United States than in England, those of sailors are generally lower," as the natural consequence of manning their navy by means of voluntary enlistment alone. At the close of the last war, sixteen thousand

British sailors were serving on board of American ships; and the wages of our seamen rose from forty to fifty, to a hundred or one hundred and twenty shillings a month, as the natural consequence of our continuing to resort to impressment after the Americans had given it up.*

Frederick's army consisted of about one hundred and fifty thousand men,—fifty thousand of these were French deserters, and a considerable portion of the remaining hundred thousand were deserters from the Austrian army, in which desertion was punished, in the same manner, with death. The dread of this punishment, if they quitted his ranks, enabled him to keep up that state of discipline that improved so much the efficiency of his regiments, at the same time that it made every individual soldier his “irreconcilable enemy.” Not relying entirely upon this dread on the part of deserters to quit his ranks, under his high pressure system of discipline, and afraid that the soldiers of his own soil might make off in spite of all their vigilance, he kept his regiments in garrison towns till called on actual service; and that they might not desert on their way from one garrison to another during relief, he never had them relieved at all. A Trooper was flogged for falling from his horse, though he had broken a limb in his fall—it was difficult, he said, to distinguish an involuntary fault from one that originated in negligence, and to prevent a man hoping that his negligence would be forgiven, all plunders were punished, from whatever cause arising. No soldier was suffered to quit his garrison till led out to fight; and when a desertion took place, cannon were fired to announce it to the surrounding country. Great rewards were given for apprehending, and severe punishments inflicted for harbouring the criminal; and he was soon hunted down, and brought back. A soldier was, therefore, always a prisoner and a slave!

* See McCulloch, *Pol. Econ.* page 255, first edition, Edinburgh, 1825.

Still, all this rigor of Prussian discipline, like that of our navy, was insufficient to extinguish that ambition which is inherent in our nature, to obtain the esteem and applause of the circle in which we move; and the soldier discharged his duty in the hour of danger, in the hope of rendering his life more happy in the esteem of his officers and comrades. "Every tolerably good soldier feels," says Adam Smith, "that he would become the scorn of his companions if he should be supposed capable of shrinking from danger, or of hesitating either to expose or to throw away his life, when the good of the service required it." So thought the philosopher king of Prussia, when he let his regiments out of garison, to go and face the enemy! The officers were always treated with as much lenity in the Prussian as any other service, because the king knew that the hope of promotion would always be sufficient to bind them to their duties; but the poor soldiers had no hope of this kind to animate them in their toils and their dangers.

We took our system of drill from Frederick of Prussia; and there is still many a martinet who would carry his high pressure system of discipline into every other service over which he had any control, unable to appreciate the difference of circumstances under which they may happen to be raised and maintained.* The Sipahs of the Bengal army, the only part of our native

* Many German princes adopted the discipline of Frederick in their little petty states, without exactly knowing why, or wherefore. The Prince of Darmstadt conceived a great passion for the military art; and when the weather would not permit him to worry his little army of five thousand men in the open air, he had them worried for his amusement under sheds. But he was soon obliged to build a wall round the town in which he drilled his soldiers, for the sole purpose of preventing their running away—round this wall he had a regular chain of sentries to fire at the deserters. Mr. Moore thought the discontent of this little band was greater than in the Prussian army, inasmuch as the soldiers saw no object but the prince's amusement. A fight, or the prospect of a fight, would have been a feast to them.

army with which I am much acquainted, are educated as soldiers from their infancy—they are brought up in feeling of entire deference for constituted authority which we require in soldiers, and which they never lose through life. They are taken from the agricultural classes of Indian society—almost all the sons of yeomen—cultivating proprietors of the soil, whose families have increased beyond their means of subsistence. One one is sent out after another to seek service in our regiments as necessity presses at home. from whatever cause—the increase of taxation or the too great increase of numbers in families.* No men can have a higher sense of the duty they owe to the state that employs them, *or whose salt they eat*; nor can any men set less value on life when the service of that state requires that it shall be risked or sacrificed. No persons are brought up with more deference for parents. In no family from which we draw our recruits is a son through infancy, boyhood, or youth, heard to utter a disrespectful word to his parents—such a word from a son to his parents would shock the feelings of the whole community in which the family resides, and the offending member would be visited with their highest indignation. When the father dies the eldest son takes his place, and receives the same marks of respect,—the same entire confidence and deference as the father. If he be a soldier in a distant land, and can afford to do so, he resigns the service, and returns home, to take his post as the head of the family. If he cannot afford to resign, if the family still want the aid of his regular monthly pay, he remains ~~with~~ his regiment; and den-

* Speaking of the question whether recruits drawn from the country or the towns were best, Vegetius says—*De qua parte nunquam credo potuisse dubitari, optiores armis rusticam plebem, quæ sub divo et in labore nutritur; æ solis patientis; umbræ negligens; balnearum nescia; delicarum ignora; simplicifantini; parvo contenta; duratis ad omnem laborum tolerantiam membris; cæci gestari ferrum, fossam, ducere, omnis ferre, consuetudo de rure est.*—*De re Militari*, lib. i. cap. 3.

ies himself many of the personal comforts he has hitherto enjoyed, that he may increase his contribution to the general stock.

The wives and children of his brothers, who are absent on service, are confided to his care with the same confidence as to that of the father. It is a rule to which I have through life found but few exceptions, that those who are most disposed to resist constituted authority, are those most disposed to abuse such authority when they get it. The members of these families, disposed, as they always are, to pay deference to such authority, are scarcely ever found to abuse it when it devolves upon them ; and the elder son, when he succeeds to the place of his father, loses none of the affectionate attachment of his younger brothers.

They never take their wives or children with them to their regiments, or to the places where their regiments are stationed. They leave them with their fathers or elder brothers, and enjoy their society only when they return on furlough. Three-fourths of their incomes are sent home to provide for their comfort and subsistence, and to embellish that home in which they hope to spend the *winter* of their days. The knowledge, that any neglect of the duty they owe their distant families will be immediately visited by the odium of their native officers and brother soldiers, and ultimately communicated to the heads of these families, acts as a salutary check on their conduct ; and I believe that there is hardly a native regiment in the Bengal army, in which the twenty drummers, who are Christians, and have their families with the regiment, do not cause more trouble to the officers than the whole eight hundred Sipahcees.

To secure the fidelity of such men, all that is necessary is, to make them feel secure of three things—their regular pay, at the handsome rate at which it has now been fixed ; their retiring pension, upon the scale hitherto enjoyed ; and promotion by seniority, like their European officers, unless they shall forfeit all claims to it by misconduct or neglect of duty. People talk about

a *demoralized* army, and *discontented* army! No army in the world was certainly ever more moral, or more contented, than our native army; or more satisfied that their masters merit all their devotion and attachment; and I believe none was ever more devoted or attached to them.* I do not speak of the European officers of the native army. They very generally believe that they have had just cause of complaint, and sufficient care has not always been taken to remove that impression. In all the junior grades the honourable Company's officers have advantages over the Queen's in India. In the higher grades the Queen's officers have advantages over those of the honourable Company. The reasons it does not behove me here to consider.

In all armies composed of involuntary soldiers, that is, of soldiers who are anxious to quit the ranks and return to peaceful occupations, but cannot do so, much of the drill to which they are subjected, is adopted merely with a view to keep them from pondering too much upon the miseries of their present condition; and from indulging in those licentious habits to which a strong sense of these miseries, and the recollection of the enjoyments of peaceful life which they have sacrificed, are too apt to drive them. No portion of this is necessary for the soldiers of our native army, who have no miseries to ponder over, or superior enjoyments in peaceful life to look back upon; and a very small quantity of drill is sufficient to make a regiment of Sipahs go through its

* I believe the native army to be better now than it ever was; better in its disposition and in its organization. The men have now a better feeling of assurance than they formerly had, that all their rights will be secured to them by their European officers, that all those officers are men of honour, though they have not all of them the same fellow-feeling that their officers had with them in former days. This is because they have not the same opportunity of seeing their courage and fidelity tried in the same scenes of common danger. Go to Afghanistan and to China, and you will find the feeling between officers and men, as fine as it ever was in days of yore, whatever it may be at our large and gay stations, where they see so little of each other.

evolutions well, because they have all a pride and pleasure in their duties, as long as they have a commanding officer who understands them. Clarke, in his Travels, speaking of the three thousand native infantry from India whom he saw paraded in Egypt under their gallant leader, Sir David Baird, says, "Troops in such a state of military perfections, or better suited for active service, were never seen—not even on the famous parade of the chosen ten thousand belonging to Bonaparte's legions, which he was so vain of displaying before the present war in the front of the Tuileries at Paris. Not an unhealthy soldier was to be seen. The English, inured to the climate of India, considered that of Egypt as temperate in its effects; and the Sipahcees seemed as fond of the Nile as the Ganges."

It would be much better to devise more innocent amusements to lighten the miseries of European soldiers in India, than to be worrying them every hour, night and day, with duties, which are in themselves considered to be of no importance whatever, and imposed merely with a view to prevent their having time to ponder on these miseries. But all extra and useless duties to a soldier become odious, because they are always associated in his mind with the ideas of the odious and degrading punishment inflicted for the neglect of them. It is lamentable to think how much of misery is often wantonly inflicted upon the brave soldiers of our European regiments of India, on the pretence of a desire to preserve *order and discipline!* *

* Sportsmen know that if they train their horses beyond a certain point, they *train off*; that is, they lose the spirit, and with it the condition they require to support them in the hour of trial.

* This commanding officer says, as Pharaoh said to the Israelites, "Let there be more work laid upon them, that they may labour therein, and not enter into vain discourses." Life to such men becomes intolerable, and they either destroy themselves, or commit murder, that they may be taken to distant court for trial.

It is the same with soldiers; if drilled beyond a certain point, they *drill off*; and lose the spirit which they require to sustain them in active service, and before the enemy. An over-drilled regiment will seldom go through its evolutions well, even in ordinary review, before its own general. If it has all the mechanism, it wants all the *real spirit* of military discipline, it becomes dogged; and is, in fact, a body without a soul! The martinet, who is seldom a man of much intellect, is satisfied as long as the bodies of his men are drilled to his liking: his narrow mind comprehends only one of the principles which influence mankind—*fear*; and upon this he acts with all the pertinacity of a slave driver. If he does not disgrace himself when he comes before the enemy, as he commonly does, by his own incapacity, his men will perhaps try to disgrace him, even at the sacrifice of what they hold dearer than their lives—their reputation. The real soldier, who is generally a man of mere intellect, cares more about the feelings than the bodies of his men: he wants to command their affections as well as their limbs; and he inspires them with a feeling of enthusiasm that renders them insensible to all danger—such men were Lord Lake, and Generals Ochterlony, Malcolm, and Adams, and such are many others, well known in India.

Under the martinet, the soldiers will never do more than what a due regard for *their own reputation* demands from them before the enemy, and will sometimes do less. Under the real soldier, they will always do more than this: *his reputation* is dearer to them even than their own, and they will do more to sustain it. The army of the consul, Appius Claudius, exposed themselves to almost inevitable destruction before the enemy, to disgrace him in the eyes of his country, and the few survivors were decimated on their return: he cared nothing for the *spirit* of his men. The army of his colleague, Quintius, on the contrary, though from the same people, and levied and led out at the same

time, covered him with glory, because they loved him.* We had an instance of this in the war with Nepal, in 1815, in which a king's regiment played the part of the army of Appius. There were other martinets, king's and company's, commanding divisions in that war, and they all signally failed; not however, except in the above one instance, from backwardness on the part of their troops, but from utter incapacity when the hour of trial came. Those who succeeded were men always noted for caring something more about the hearts than the whiskers and buttons of their men. That the officer who delights in harassing his regiment in times of peace, will fail with it in times of war, and scenes of peril, seems to me to be a rule almost as well established, as that he, who in the junior ranks of the army delights most to kick against authority, is always found the most disposed to abuse it when he gets to the higher. In long intervals of peace, the only prominent military characters are commonly such martinets; and hence the failures so generally experienced in the beginning of a war after such an interval. Whitelocks are chosen for command, and disasters follow, till Wolfes and Wellingtons find Chathams and Wellesleys to climb up by.

To govern those, whose mental and physical energies we require for our subsistence or support, by the fear of the lash alone,

* See Livy. lib. ii. cap. 59. The infantry under Fabius had refused to conquer, that their general, whom they hated, might not triumph; but the whole army under Claudius, whom they had more cause to detest, not only refused to conquer, but determined to be conquered, that he might be involved in their disgrace. All the abilities of Lucullus, one of the ablest generals Rome ever had, were rendered almost useless by his disregard to the feelings of his soldiers. He could not perceive that the civil wars, under Marius and Sylla, had rendered a different treatment of Roman soldiers necessary to success in war. Pompey, his successor, a man of inferior military genius, succeeded much better, because he had the sagacity to see that he now required, not only the confidence, but the affections of his soldiers. Caesar, to abilities even greater than those of Lucullus, united the conciliatory spirit of Pompey.

is so easy, so simple a mode of bending them to our will, and making them act strictly and instantly in conformity to it, that it is not at all surprising to find so many of those who have been accustomed to it, and are not themselves liable to have the lash inflicted upon them, advocating its free use. In China the Emperor has his generals flogged; and finds the lash so efficacious in bending them to his will, that nothing would persuade him that it could ever be safely dispensed with! In some parts of Germany, they had the officers flogged; and princes and generals found this so very efficacious in making those act in conformity to their will, that they found it difficult to believe, that any army could be well managed without it! In other Christian armies, the officers are exempted from the lash, but they use it freely upon all under them; and it would be exceedingly difficult to convince the greater part of these officers, that the free use of the lash is not indispensably necessary, nay, that the men do not themselves like to be flogged, as eels like to be skinned, when they once get used to it. Ask the slave-holders of the southern states of America, whether any society can be well constituted unless the greater part of those upon the sweat of whose brow the community depends for their subsistence, are made by law liable to be bought, sold, and driven to their daily labour with the lash: they will one and all say, no; and yet there are doubtless many very excellent and amiable persons among those slave-holders. If our army, as at present constituted, cannot do without the free use of the lash, let its constitution be altered; for no nation with free institutions should suffer its soldiers to be flogged. *Laudabiliores tamen duces sunt, quorum exercitus and modestiam labor et usus instituit, quam illi quorum milites, ad obedientiam, suppliciorum formido compellit.*”*

* If corporal punishment be retained at all, it should be limited to the two offences I have already mentioned.—*Vegetius de re Militari, lib. iii. cap. 4.*

Though I reprobate that wanton severity of discipline in which the substance is sacrificed to the form, in which unavoidable and trivial offences are punished as deliberate and serious crimes, and the spirit of the soldier is entirely disregarded, while the motion of his limbs, cut of his whiskers, and the buttons of his coat are scanned with microscopic eye, I must not be thought to advocate idleness. If we find the Sipahes of a native regiment, as we sometimes do at a *healthy* and *cheap* station, become a little unruly, like schoolboys, and ask an old native officer the reason, he will probably answer others as he has me, by another question—"Ghora ara keoon? Pancee sura keoon?" "Why does the horse become vicious? Why does the water become putrid?" *for want of exercise*. Without proper attention to this exercise, no regiment is ever kept in order; nor has any commanding officer ever the respect or the affections of his men unless they see that he understands well all the duties which government intrusts to him; and is resolved to have them performed in all situations, and under all circumstances. There are always some bad characters in a regiment, to take advantage of any laxity of discipline, and lead astray the younger soldiers, whose spirits have been rendered exuberant by good health and good feeding; and there is hardly any crime to which they will not try to excite these young men, under an officer careless about the discipline of his regiment, or disinclined, from a mistaken *esprit du corps*, or any other cause, to have those crimes traced home to them, and punished.*

* Polibius says, "that as the human body is apt to get out of order under good feeding and little exercise, so are states and armies." B. II. chap. 6.—Wherever food is cheap, and the air good, native regiments should be well exercised, without being worried.

I must here take the liberty to give an extract from a letter from one of the best and most estimable officers now in the Bengal army:—"As connected with the discipline of the native army, I may here remark, that I have for some years past observed, on the part of many otherwise excellent commanding officers, a great want of attention to the instruction of the young European officers

There can be no question, that a good tone of feeling between the European officers and their men is essential to the well-being of our native army; and I think I have found this tone somewhat impaired whenever our native regiments are concentrated at large stations. In such places the European society is commonly large and gay; and the officers of our native regiments become too much occupied in its pleasures and ceremonies, to attend to their native officers or Sipahcees. In Europe there are separate classes of people, who subsist by catering for the amusements of the higher circles of society, in theatres, operas, concerts, balls, &c. &c.; but in India this duty devolves entirely upon the young civil and

on first joining their regiments. I have had ample opportunities of seeing the great value of a regular course of instruction drill for at least six months. When I joined my first regiment which was about forty years ago, I had the good fortune to be under a commandant and adjutant who, happily for me and many others, attached great importance to this very necessary course of instruction. I then acquired a thorough knowledge of my duties, which led to my being appointed an adjutant very early in life. When I attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, I had however opportunities of observing how very much this essential duty had been neglected in certain regiments; and made it a rule in all that I commanded to keep all young officers, on first joining, at the instruction drill till thoroughly grounded in their duties. Since I ceased to command a regiment, I have taken advantage of every opportunity to express to those commanding officers, with whom I have been in correspondence, my conviction of the great advantages of this system to the rising generation. In going from one regiment to another, I found many curious instances of ignorance on the part of young officers, who had been many years with their corps. It was by no means an easy task at first to convince them that they really knew nothing, or at least had a great deal to learn; but when they were made sensible of it, then many of them turned out excellent officers, and now I believe bless the day they were first put under me."

The advantages of the system here mentioned, cannot be questioned; and it is much to be regretted, that it is not strictly enforced in every regiment in the service. Young officers may find it irksome at first; but they soon become sensible of the advantages, and learn to applaud the commandant who has had the firmness to consult their permanent interests more than their present inclinations.

military officers of the government, and at large stations it really is a very *laborious* one, which often takes up the whole of a young man's time. The ladies must have amusement; and the officers must find it for them, because there are no other persons to undertake the *arduous duty*. The consequence is, that they often become entirely alienated from their men; and betray signs of the greatest impatience, while they listen to the necessary reports of their native officers, as they come on or go off duty.

It is different when regiments are concentrated for active service. Nothing tends so much to improve the tone of feeling between the European officers and their men, and between European soldiers and sipahees, as the concentration of forces on actual service, where the same hopes animate, and the same dangers unite them in common bonds of sympathy and confidence. "Utrique alteris freti, finitimos arripis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere." After the campaigns under Lord Lake, a native regiment passing Dinapore, where the gallant King's 76th, with whom they had often fought side by side, was cantoned, invited the soldiers to a grand entertainment provided for them by the sipahees. They consented to go, on one condition,—that the sipahees should see them all back safe before morning. Confiding in their sable friends, they all got gloriously drunk, but found themselves lying every man upon his proper cot in his own barracks in the morning. The sipahees had carried them all home upon their shoulders. Another native regiment, passing within a few miles of a hill on which they had buried one of their European officers after that war, solicited permission to go and make their *salam* to the tomb; and all went who were off duty.

The system which now keeps the greater part of our native infantry at small stations of single regiments in times of peace, tends to preserve this good tone of feeling between officers and men; at the same time that it promotes the general welfare of the

country, by giving confidence everywhere to the peaceful and industrious classes.

I will not close this chapter without mentioning* one thing which I have no doubt that every Company's officer in India will concur with me in thinking desirable, to improve the good feeling of the native soldiery,—that is, an increase to the pay of the Jemadars. They are commissioned officers; and seldom attain the rank in less than from twenty-five to thirty years;* and they have to provide themselves with clothes of the same costly description as those of the Subadar; to be as well mounted, and in all respects to keep up the same respectability of appearance, while their pay is only *twenty-four rupees and a half a month*; that is, ten rupees a month only more than they had been receiving in the grade of Havildars, which is not sufficient to meet the additional expenses to which they become liable as commissioned officers. Their means of remittance to their families are rather diminished than increased by promotion: and but few of them can hope ever to reach the next grade of Subadar. Our government, which has of late been so liberal to its native civil officers, will I hope soon take into consideration the claims of this class, who are universally admitted to be the worst paid class of native public officers in India. Ten rupees a month addition to their pay would be of great importance;—it would enable them to impart some of the advantages of their promotion to their families; and improve the good feeling of the circles around them towards the government they serve.

* There are, I believe, many Jemadars who still wear medals on their breasts, for their service in the taking of Java and the Isle of France, more than thirty years ago. Indeed I suspect that some will be found who accompanied Sir David Baird to Egypt.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INVALID ESTABLISHMENT.

I HAVE said nothing in the foregoing chapter of the invalid establishment, which is probably the greatest of all bonds of union between the government and its native army; and consequently the greatest element in the "spirit of discipline." Bonaparte, who was, perhaps, with all his faults, "the greatest man that ever floated on the tide of time," said at Elba, "There is not even a village that has not brought forth a general, a colonel, a captain, or a prefect, who has raised himself by his especial merit, and illustrated at once his family and his country." Now we know, that the families and the village communities, in which our invalid pensioners reside, never read newspapers, and feel but little interest in the victories in which these pensioners may have shared. They feel, that they have no share in the *rebut* or glory which attend them; but they everywhere admire and respect the government which cherishes its faithful old servants, and enables them to spend "the winter of their days" in the bosoms of their families; and they spurn the man who has failed in his duty towards that government in the hour of need. No sipahee taken from the Rajpoot communities of Oude, or any other part of the country, can hope to conceal from his family circle, or village community, any act of cowardice, or of anything else which is considered disgraceful to a soldier, or to escape the odium which it merits in that circle and community.

In the year 1819, I was encamped near a village, in marching through Oude, when the landlord, a very cheerful old man, came up to me with his youngest son, a lad of eighteen years of age, and requested him to allow him (the son) to show me the best shooting grounds in the neighbourhood. I took my "Joe Manton," and went out. The youth showed me some very good ground; and I found him an agreeable companion, and an excellent shot with his matchlock. On our return, we found the old man waiting for us. He told me that he had four sons, all, by God's blessing *well enough* for the Company's service, in which one had attained the rank of havildar, (serjeant,) and two were still sipabees. Their wives and children lived with him; and they sent home every month two-thirds of their pay, which enabled him to pay all the rent of the estate, and appropriate the whole of the annual returns to the subsistence and comfort of the numerous family. He was, he said, now growing old, and wished his eldest son, the serjeant, to resign the service and come home to take upon him the management of the estate. That as soon as he could be prevailed upon to do so, his old wife would permit my sporting companion, her youngest son, to enlist, but not before.

I was on my way to visit Fyzabad, the old metropolis of Oude, and on returning a month afterwards, in the latter end of January, I found that the wheat, which was all then in ear, had been destroyed by a severe frost. The old man wept bitterly; and he and his old wife yielded to the wishes of their youngest son, to accompany me and enlist in my regiment, which was then stationed at Pertaubgur.

We set out, but were overtaken at the third stage by the poor old man, who told me that his wife had not eaten or slept since the boy left her, and that he must go back and wait for the return of his eldest brother, or she certainly would not live. The lad obeyed the call of his parents, and I never saw or heard of the family again.

There is hardly a village in the kingdom of Oude without families like this, depending upon the good conduct and liberal pay of sipahees in our infantry regiments; and revering the name of the government they serve, or have served. Similar villages are to be found scattered over the provinces of Behar and Benares, the districts between the Ganges and Jumna, and other parts where Rajpoots, and the other classes from whom we draw our recruits, have been long established as proprietors and cultivators of the soil.

These are the feelings on which the spirit of discipline in our native army chiefly depends, and which we shall, I hope, continue to cultivate, as we have always hitherto done, with care; and a commander must take a great deal of pains to make his men miserable, before he can render them, like the soldiers of Frederick, "*the irreconcilable enemies of their officers and their government.*"

In the year 1817, I was encamped in a grove on the right bank of the Ganges, below Monghyr, when the Marquis of Hastings was proceeding up the river in his fleet, to put himself at the head of the grand division of the army, then about to take the field against the Pindaries, and their patrons, the Mahratta chiefs. Here I found an old native pensioner, above a hundred years of age. He had fought under Lord Clive at the battle of Plassey, A. D. 1757, and was still a very cheerful, talkative old gentleman, though he had long lost the use of his eyes. One of his sons, a grey-headed old man, and a Subadar (captain) in a regiment of native infantry, had been at the taking of Java, and was now come home on leave, to visit his father. Other sons had risen to the rank of commissioned officers, and their families formed the aristocracy of the neighbourhood. In the evening, as the fleet approached, the old gentleman, dressed in his full uniform of former days as a commissioned officer, had himself taken out close to the bank of the river, that he might be once more, during

his life, *within sight* of a British commander-in-chief, though he could no longer see one ! There the old patriarch sat listening with intense delight to the remarks of the host of his descendants around him, as the Governor-general's magnificent fleet passed along, every one fancying that he had caught a glimpse of the great man, and trying to describe him to the old gentleman, who in return, told them (no doubt for the thousandth time) what sort of a person the great Lord Clive was. His son, the old Subadar, now and then, with modest deference, venturing to imagine a resemblance between one or the other, and his *beau idéal* of a great man, Lord Lake. Few things in India have interested me more than scenes like these.

I have no means of ascertaining the number of military pensioners in England, or in any other European nation, and cannot, therefore, state the proportion which they bear to the actual number of the forces kept up. The military pensioners in our Bengal establishment, on the first of May 1841, were 22,381 ; and the family pensioners, or heirs of soldiers killed in action 1730 : total 24,111, out of an army of 82,027 men. I question whether the number of retired soldiers, maintained at the expense of government, bears so large a proportion to the number actually serving in any other nation on earth. Not one of the twenty-four thousand has been brought on, or retained upon, the list from political interest, or court favour : every one receives his pension for long and faithful services, after he has been pronounced, by a board of European surgeons, as no longer fit for the active duties of his profession ; or gets it for the death of a father, husband, or son, who has been killed in the service of government.

All are allowed to live with their families ; and European officers are stationed at central points in the different parts of the country, where they are most numerous, to pay them their stipends every six months. These officers are at—1st, Barrackpore ; 2nd, Dinapore ; 3rd, Allahabad ; 4th, Lucknow ; 5th, Meerut. From these central points they move twice a year to the several

other points within their respective circles of payment, where the pensioners can most conveniently attend to receive their money on certain days, so that none of them have to go far, or to employ any expensive means to get it—it is, in fact, brought him as near as possible to their doors by a considerate and liberal government.

Every soldier is entitled to a pension when pronounced by a board of surgeons as no longer fit for the active duties of his profession, after fifteen years' service; but to be entitled to the pension of his rank in the army, he must have served in such rank for three years. Till he has done so, he is entitled only to the pension of that immediately below it. A sipahee gets four rupees a month, that is about one-fourth more than the ordinary wages of common uneducated labour throughout the country. But it will be better to give the rate of the pay of the native officers and men of our native infantry, and that of their retired pensions in one table.

Table of the rate of the pay and retired pensions of the native officers and soldiers of our native infantry.	Rate of pay per mensem.		Rate of pension per mensem.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
A Sipahce, or private soldier, (after 16 years' service 8 rupees a month, after 20 years he gets 9 rupees a month)	7	0	4	0
A Naek, or corporal	12	0	7	0
A Havildar, or serjeant	14	0	7	0
A Jemadar, (subaltern commissioned officer) ...	21	8	13	0
Subadar (or captain)	67	0	25	0
Subadar major	92	0
A Subadar, after 40 years' service	50	0
A Sirdar Bahadur of the order of British India, 1st class, two rupees a day extra; 2nd class, one rupee a day extra. This extra allowance they enjoy after they retire from the service during life.				

The circumstances which in the estimation of the people, distinguish the British from all other rules in India, and make it grow more and more upon their affections, are these:—The security which public servants enjoy in the tenure of their office; the

prospect they have of advancement by the gradation of rank ; the regularity and liberal scale of their pay ; and the provision for old age, when they have discharged the duties entrusted to them ably and faithfully. In a native state almost every public officer knows that he has no chance of retaining his office beyond the reign of the present minister or favourite ; and that no present minister or favourite can calculate upon retaining his ascendancy over the mind of his chief for more than a few months or years. Under us, they see secretaries to government, members of council, and governors-general themselves going out and coming into office without causing any change in the position of their subordinates, or even the apprehension of any change, as long as they discharge their duties ably and faithfully.

In a native state the new minister or favourite brings with him a whole host of expectants, who must be provided for as soon as he takes the helm ; and if all the favourites of his predecessor do not voluntarily vacate their offices for them, he either turns them out without ceremony, or his favourites very soon concoct charges against them, which cause them to be turned out in due form, and perhaps put into jail till they have " paid the uttermost farthing." Under us the governors-general, members of council, the secretaries of state, the members of the judicial and revenue boards, all come into office, and take their seats unattended by a single expectant. No native officer of the revenue or judicial department, who is conscious of having done his duty ably and honestly, feels the slightest uneasiness at the change.

The consequence is a degree of integrity in public officers never before known in India ; and rarely to be found in any other country. In the province where I now write, which consists of six districts there are twenty-two native judicial officers, Moonsiffs, Sudder Ameen, and principal Sudder Ameen ; and in the whole province. I have never heard a suspicion breathed against one of them ; nor do I believe that the integrity of one of them is at

perhaps twelve Thanas, or police subdivisions in each district; and one such officer to every four Thanas would be sufficient for all purposes. The Governor-general who shall confer this boon on the people of India, will assuredly be hailed as one of their greatest benefactors. I should, I believe, speak within bounds when I say, that the Thanadars throughout the country, give, at present, more than all the money which they receive in avowed salaries from government, as a share of indirect perquisites to the native officers of the magistrate's court, who have to send their reports to them, and communicate their orders, and prepare the cases of the prisoners they may send in, for commitment to the sessions courts. Were they not to do so, few of them would be in office a month. The intermediate officers here proposed, would obviate all this, they would be to the Magistrate at once the *topis* of prince Hosain, and the *telescope* of prince Alee,—media that would enable them to be everywhere, and see everything!

I may here seem to be "travelling beyond the record;" but it is not so. In treating on the spirit of military discipline in our native army, I advocate, as much as in the *Æliæ*, the great general!

of others by his example; the severest punishments are to be inflicted for those crimes that are of most danger to the public; such are those which proceed from malice to the government established; those that spring from justice, those that provoke indignation in the multitude; and those which unpunished, seem authorised, as when they are committed by sons, servants, or favourites of great power. For indignation carrieth men not only against all actors and authors of injustice, but against all power that is likely to protect them, as in the case of Tarquin, when, for the insolent act of his son, he was driven out of Rome; and the monarchy itself dissolved." Part 2nd, Sec. 30.

Almost every Thanadar in our dominions is a little Tarquin in his way, exciting the indignation of the people against his master. When we give him the proper incentives to good, we shall be able, with better conscience, to punish him severely for bad conduct. The interposition of the officers I propose between him and the magistrate, will give him the required incentive to good conduct at the same time that it will deprive him of all hope of concealing his "evils," should he continue in them.

principle upon which rests, I think, not only our *power* in India, but what is more,—the *justification of that power*. It is our wish, as it is our interest, to give to the Hindoos and Mahomedans a liberal share in all the duties of administration, in all offices, civil and military; and to show the people in general, the incalculable advantages of a strong and settled government, which can secure life, property, and character, and the free enjoyment of all their blessings, throughout the land; and give to those who perform duties as public servants ably and honestly, a sure prospect of rising by gradation, a feeling of security in their tenure of office, a liberal scale of salary while they serve, and a respectable provision for old age.

It is by a steady adherence to these principles that the Indian civil service has been raised to its present high character for integrity and ability; and the native army made what it really is, faithful and devoted to its rulers, and ready to serve them in any quarter of the world. I deprecate any innovation upon these principles in the branches of the public service to which they have been already applied with such eminent success; and I advocate their extension to all other branches, as the *best* means of making them what they ought, and what we must all most fervently wish them to be.

The native officers of our judicial and revenue establishments, or of our native army, are every where a bond of union between the governing and the governed. Discharging everywhere honestly and ably their duties to their employers, they tend everywhere to secure to them the respect and the affections of the people. His Highness Mahomed Sued Khan, the reigning Naoab of Rampore, still talks with pride of the days when he was one of our *deputy collectors* in the adjoining district of Bhudown; and of the useful knowledge he acquired in that office. He has still one brother, a Sudder Ameen in the district of Mynporee, and another, a deputy collector in the Humeerpore district; and neither would reason his situation under the honourable Company, to

the poor woman's *father*, who declared that *he* could not support his daughter; and that she had, therefore, better be burned, as her husband's family would no longer receive her. The uproar was quite alarming to a young man, who felt all the responsibility upon himself in such a city of Benares, with a population of three hundred thousand people, so prone to popular insurrections, or risings *en masse* very like them. He long argued the point of the time that had elapsed, and the unwillingness of the woman, but in vain; until at last the thought struck him suddenly, and he said, "That the sacrifice was manifestly unacceptable to their God—that the sacred river, as such, had rejected her; she had, without being able to swim, floated down two miles upon its bosom, in the face of an immense multitude; and it was clear that she had been rejected! Had she been an acceptable sacrifice, after the fire had touched her, the river would have received her!" This satisfied the whole crowd. The father said that, after this unanswerable argument, he would receive his daughter; and the whole crowd dispersed satisfied.

VOLUME I. CHAPTER XXXVI. Page 342

In the description of the author's encampment at Gwalior, he fell into a mistake, which was discovered too late for correction in his journal. His tents were not pitched within the Phool Bag, as he supposed, but without; and seeing nothing of this place, he imagined that the dirty and naked ground outside was actually the flower garden. The Phool Bag, however, is a very pleasing and well-ordered place, although so completely secluded from observation by lofty walls, that many other travellers must have encamped on the ground without being aware of its existence.

VOLUME II. CHAPTER XXVIII.—Page 406, note.

By Act 23, of 1839, passed by the Legislative Council of India, on the 23rd of September, it is made competent for courts-martial to send the soldiers of the native army in the service of

he East India Company, to the punishment of dismissal, and to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding two years, if the sentence be pronounced by a general court-martial; and not exceeding one year, if by a garrison or line court-martial; and not exceeding six months, if by a regimental or detachment court-martial. Imprisonment for any period with hard labour, or for a term exceeding six months without hard labour, to involve dismissal. Act 2, of 1840, provides for such sentences of imprisonment being carried into execution by the magistrates or other officers in charge of the gaols.

END OF VOL. II.



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